AFRICAN STUDIES

(Formerly Bantu Studies)

VOLUME 5. No. 3; SEPTEMBER 1946

TSONGA LAW IN THE TRANSVAAL[1]

By T. D. RAMSAY

INTRODUCTION

The laws and customs of the Tsonga tribes, comprising the Tshangana (Shangaans), the Nhlanganu (Hlanganas), the Nkuna and allied clans, are practically identical. For the history and the present distribution of these people, the reader is referred to Dr. N. J. van Warmelo's book, *A Preliminary Survey of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa*, pp. 90-95.

The Tsonga people are frequently referred to as "Shangaan", but this is erroneous: only the descendants of the portion which was subjugated by the Ngoni chieftain Soshangana takes its name from him. This portion is mainly situated in the Pilgrim's Rest district (except for Tshangana still resident in Portuguese East Africa), and among its members Tsonga law is modified by Zulu influence, which, however, has waned considerably since the Zulu conquest, as related by Dr. van Warmelo. Tinges of Zuluism are also to be found among Tsonga in the Letaba district, and in a lesser degree in the communities of Louis Trichardt and Sibasa. The Kutswe people in Pilgrim's Rest district have, through long association with the Nhlanganu, also come to adopt Tsonga custom.

Owing to admixture of the tribes in the course of migration and settlement, many chiefs and indunas have departed from original custom and have introduced elements adopted from neighbours belonging to other tribes and groups, or invented by themselves.

It is desirable that, as far as possible, the law as found to exist be applied, provided it is consistent with justice and equity. It would be most difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain "original" law, meaning, by this term, pure Tsonga custom prior to the Zulu conquest. Junod's *Life of a South African Tribe*, which is practically the only effort that has been made to describe the customs of the Tsonga, is a valuable and interesting work, but it is mainly concerned with the non-legal and social aspects of Native custom, and is of little value as a textbook on Native law.

In these notes I have endeavoured to present Tsonga law as modified by present-day usage, eliminating arbitrary variations introduced by individual chiefs. My material was collected from chiefs and indunas in the Pilgrim's Rest district, among whom the foremost is Chief Thulilamahashe, great-grandson of Soshangana himself, and the Nhlanganu chiefs Jongilanga and Shobyane, and from many old men. When divergence of opinion was encountered, conferences were arranged and the points of difference debated until unanimity was achieved.

Valuable contributions were obtained from

[1] This contribution was first published in 1941 in roneoed form by the Native Affairs Department, Pretoria, from whom copies may still be had for 2s. 6d. each. The author brought this version up to date in July 1945, and it is re-published here by kind permission of the Secretary for Native Affairs.

Native Commissioners Messrs. T. A. C. Emmett, M. Israel and R. S. Mundell in regard to Tsonga law in the Louis Trichardt, Letaba and Sibasa areas respectively; to these gentlemen, and especially to Dr. van Warmelo, to whose constructive criticism and help in preparing the notes I am very much indebted, I extend my thanks.

Existing works on the Tsonga tribes and the meagre Native Appeal Court reports on "Shangaan" custom have been consulted, and pertinent points incorporated in the following notes, which are intended to present the bare skeleton of Transvaal Tsonga civil law, stripped of mere social and ceremonial observances.

TERMINOLOGY

In the most cases where Native terms have been employed in these notes, the Zulu words have been given, followed by their Tsonga equivalents. Very many members of the Tsonga tribes speak Zulu of a sort, and use the Zulu terms freely.

The word "dowry" is used throughout as equivalent of the Native *Lobolo* or *Ndzovolo* which means a bride-price or consideration given for a wife.

The term "marriage" throughout refers to the Native customary union.

MARRIAGE

Requisites of marriage

(1) The payment of dowry (*Lobolo*, *Ndzovolo*) by the family of a man to the guardian of a woman, the consent of all parties, the intention to contract a marriage, and the delivery of the bride to her husband are the essentials of a customary union. Payment of dowry may, however, be by "word of mouth", i.e. merely pointing out the stock as mentioned in para. 69.

(2) In the interests of justice, European courts have held that long cohabitation raises a presumption of marriage, and the courts will not lightly illegitimise the children of such cohabitation by declaring that no marriage exists. (Zachariah Cele and Elizabeth Cele vs James Radebe, N.C.A. N. & T. 1939, II, p. 49).

Offer of marriage

"Qoma" or "Vuta" and "Nyaniso" or "Ntiyiso" fees

(3) It is customary for the relatives and friends of a man wishing to marry, to interview the guardian of the woman, and to ask her hand in marriage. The man himself does not take part in the preliminary negotiations, but is represented by members of his family and his appointed messengers called *Nduna* or *Ntsumi*. They take with them five pounds or a beast (in Letaba district: two pounds) as engagement (*Qoma* or *Vuta*) fee, which the prospective bride may either accept or reject, signifying her acceptance or rejection of the suitor. It would be a strong-willed girl, however, who would dare to run counter to her guardian's wishes in this respect, despite the Courts' repeated refusal to recognise a marriage arranged without the consent of the bride. This attitude was reiterated in Jack Gidja vs. John Yingwane, 1943, page 4, in the following words:— "That our modern civilisation recognises that a girl has full liberty of choice in the matter of marriage and that this freedom is the prerogative of all women of whatever colour or race." The fee becomes the property of the father or guardian.

(4) The fee is payable even after an elopement according to Tshangana custom, and must be paid with the dowry.

(5) Later in the proceedings it is usual, but apparently not essential, for a pound as *Nyaniso* or *Ntiyiso* (earnest) fee to be paid to the guardian by the bridegroom's representatives.

(6) These fees do not form part of the dowry, but are generally termed *Lobolo* or *Ndzovolo*, and are returnable with the dowry on dissolution of the marriage. The Nhlanganu do not recognise these fees. In the Letaba district the *Nyaniso* or *Ntiyiso* fee is not returnable with the dowry.

Payment of dowry

(7) After the engagement, the payment of dowry is arranged by the relatives of the contracting parties. The bride's guardian may insist on pre-payment of full dowry, or, as is more usually done, payment is arranged by instalments: the payer delivering batches of cattle as he is able, provided there is no unreasonable delay.

(8) The cattle are delivered by the appointed messengers, accompanied by members of the payer's family. (See also para. 45 Dowry).

Consummation of marriage (" *Hloma* ")

(9) The marriage contract is complete and a customary union comes into being when the woman is delivered to the husband. The delivery is called *Hloma*, and may or may not be accompanied by feasting and the brewing of beer.

Wedding gifts

(10) Sometimes, as a token of goodwill, the husband will celebrate his reception of his bride by giving presents of money or clothing to his father-in-law, his mother-in-law and his bride.

(11) Various other " fees " are often devised, such as a fee for " opening the door of the bride's hut to allow her to emerge ", a fee " to wipe away the tears of her mother on losing her daughter ". It is also not unknown for a bride to walk a short way toward her future home and refuse to go further till a small sum of money shall have been given to her mother. The process is repeated several times *en route*.

(12) These fees are pronounced by the chiefs to be " women's nonsense ", not obligatory, and not returnable with the dowry on dissolution of the marriage.

Elopement or abduction marriages (" *Tlhakisa* " *or* " *Pfukisa* ")

(13) The practice of a young man " stealing " (*Tlhakisa* or *Pfukisa*) a girl and/or seducing her is regrettably becoming more common than the formal arranged marriage. At one time there was a code of conduct for an elopement under which the relatives of the young man would report the presence of the girl at their kraal to her parents, and a marriage would be arranged, but this procedure is now rarely followed.

" *Ntshontshonela* " *or* " *Tshatshazela* "

(14) In most cases the girl's guardian is obliged to search for and locate her and claim damages for her seduction. This is countered by an offer of marriage and payment of an instalment of dowry (*Ntshontshonela* or *Tshatshazela*), which is usually accepted and the girl is left with her seducer. Such acquiescence is tantamount to delivery of the girl as wife.

(15) A wise father, however, recovers his daughter and prohibits further intercourse until a substantial payment on account of dowry shall have been made.

(16) The *Qoma* fee is payable even in case of an elopment, and should be paid with the dowry. Vide para. 4.

" *Duba* ", " *Funelani nganeno* ", " *Lavelani halenu* "

(17) Among the Nhlanganu it will sometimes be found that when the girl is located, her mother will confront the abductor and make a show of great rage. The abductor must then appease her with a gift, generally of one pound, called a *Duba* fee. The mother thereupon becomes mollified and reports to her husband or the girl's guardian, who agrees to open negotiations with the abductor upon prepayment by the latter of a fee of one pound termed *Funelani nganeno* or *Lavelani halenu* meaning " Search in this direction ".

(18) The Tshangana observe the *Funelani nganeno* custom, the fee taking the place of the *Nyaniso* or *Ntiyiso* fee of a more formal marriage, but do not recognise *Duba*.

(19) The *Duba* fee is not returnable on dissolution of the marriage accompanied by return of the dowry.

Marriage not dissolved by death of husband

(20) A marriage is not dissolved by the death of the husband. The widow must continue to live at the kraal of her late husband's relatives and subject herself to the authority of the kraal head, subject to the custom of *Ukungena* or *Ku tshinga*. This is in accordance with the Native idea according to which a woman marries, not so much an individual, as the latter's family group, to raise children for that family, and to work for it.

(21) A marriage is dissolved only by return of dowry, accompanied by mutual agreement between the parties, or by an order of court.

Polygamy. Status of wives

(22) There is no limit, except the economic one, to the number of wives a man may marry.

(23) The first wife to be married is the great

wife and her eldest son will succeed to all his father's estate. (But see para. 125 Inheritance). Subsequent wives assume status according with the order in which they married. Even chiefs cannot designate any wife other than the first wife to be married as the Great Wife (vide Joseph Maganu vs Jim Maganu, N.A.C., N. & T., 1938, I, p. 14).

Substitute wives. "isiVulandlu" or "Šipfula-yindlu"

(24) If a wife dies early in the marriage, and before the normal time has arrived for her to bear a child, her father must, if requested by the bereaved husband, provide a substitute wife (*isi-Vulandlu* or *Šipfula-yindlu*). If unable or unwilling to do so, he must return the dowry received for the deceased wife (but see para. 29).

(25) In respect of the substitute wife, a reduced dowry, generally three head of cattle, is payable. This may be sued for in the same way as dowry generally.

(26) If a wife dies after having born children, or the marriage is of long standing, her father may (in Sibasa district, must) provide a substitute, but he will ask for dowry not much less than that required in the case of an ordinary marriage. The number is fixed by agreement. "In the case of Jack Gidja vs. John Yingwane, 1943 page 4, the Court held "That to order a refund of all the *lobola* if a woman should die without having borne children does appear to be unjust, as her services and the marital privileges enjoyed by her husband must be taken into account. That the custom followed by the Zulus and by at least some of the Transkei tribes, namely, that a refund of a portion of the *lobola* may be claimed only if the wife dies childless within a year after marriage. . . . should be applied to the Shangaans and other tribes who fall within the jurisdiction of this Court."

This decision, it is submitted, is not justified. Injustice from the Native point of view is far removed from the European concept of the word, and it is the function of the Court, within defined limits, to interpret, not to make, Native law.

Suicide of wife (Custom in Zoutpansberg)

(27) Among the Tsonga of the Zoutpansberg district, when a wife commits suicide which is not due to the fault of the husband, the widower is entitled to the return of his dowry, less a deduction of one beast for each child born of the marriage.

Substitute by reason of barrenness

(28) If a wife proves to be barren, her father may, on request, provide a substitute, but full dowry may be demanded for her. The barren woman continues to live with her husband. In the Sibasa area a reduced dowry is payable for a substitute for a barren wife. The father of a barren wife cannot be compelled to refund the dowry paid for her. (See also para. 71 "Dissolution of marriage" and para. 34 "*Nhlantwa*".)

Non-availibility of substitute. Infant betrothal

(29) A woman to take the place of a deceased wife may not be available. If the father of the woman in whose place a substitute is required has no daughter of marriageable age, he may indicate even an infant girl. The bereaved husband will of course derive no benefit from such a substitute, but his heir may, in course of time, claim the girl when she attains marriageable age.

(30) In the case of Daniel Sibeko vs Gordon Malaza (N.A.C., N. & T., 1938, p. 117), however, it was held that such betrothal or bespeaking of infant brides is *contra bonos mores* and cannot be recognised by European courts.

Status of substitute wife

(31) A substitute wife assumes the status of the wife whom she replaces, her children being deemed to be the children of the deceased woman. A more detailed survey of this question may be found in Junod's *Life of a South African Tribe*, vol. I, pp. 236, 245-7, 287.

Return of dowry in lieu of substitute

(32) A deceased wife's father or his heir may tender the return of the dowry, less a beast for each child born of the marriage, in lieu of providing a substitute wife to replace a deceased woman. In the event of non-availability of a substitute, a bereaved husband, entitled to a substitute, is at liberty to demand the return of his dowry, less the usual deduction for children born of the union.

(33) In the Sibasa area the husband may, moreover, demand the return of his dowry instead of a substitute wife, if he wishes. From this

dowry, so returned, there are deducted two head of cattle for each female child, and one beast for each male child born of the union. This would not appear to be the original law, but is of sufficient observance to establish a local custom.

" Nhlantswa " wife

(34). Often, when a husband finishes paying dowry, and he and his father-in-law are on friendly terms, he may ask for a *Nhlantswa*. The father-in-law may thereupon give him a younger sister of his (the husband's) wife, to assist her in her establishment. A reduced dowry, generally seven head, is paid for such sister-in-law, who becomes an " assistant " to the original wife. She becomes a seed-raiser for her elder sister and her male children must be brought up in the latter's hut. If the elder sister have no son, the eldest son of the *Nhlantswa* will rank as the son of the original wife. The *Nhlantswa* children are deemed to be the children of the original wife or hut, but do not interfere with the rights of sons actually born of the original wife—the latter having seniority, irrespective of age.

(35) A *Nhlantswa* does not take status as a wife or create a separate house on the death of her husband. She is merely an understudy of her sister.

" Ukungena ", " Ku tshinga " or " Ku hlanganisa"

(36) The custom of *Ukungena*, *Ku tshinga* or *Ku hlanganisa* is universally followed by the Tsonga tribes. It is not merely a means of raising a family for a deceased man who left no son, as amongst the Zulus. If a married man dies, his next younger brothers, or the latter's heir or if the heir be a minor, the next succeeding brother of the deceased man, takes the widow, maintains her and her children, and cohabits with her. This taking over of a widow by her brother-in-law is termed *Ukungena*, *Ku tshinga* or *Ku hlanganisa*. Any progeny of the union are deemed to be the children of the deceased man.

See, however, the opinions of the assessors in Daniel Shabangu vs. Nyabana Nkanto, 1945, p. 6.

(37) In the Zoutpansberg, the woman is allowed to choose, from amongst the male relatives of her deceased husband, her husband's successor.

(38) A widow cannot enter into an *Ukungena* or *Ku tshinga* relationship with an elder brother of her late husband.

(39) There is tendency nowadays for Natives to speak of " inheriting " a widow and her children, and to refer to the widow as the wife of the man who has *ngena'd* (*tshinga'd*) her. Very frequently the widow and her children are actually treated as the wife and offspring of the younger brother in regard to property and succession. This is quite irregular. The eldest son of the deceased man (subject to the provisions of para. 122 and 124-132) is entitled to succeed to his actual father's property when he reaches majority. i.e. when he takes a wife. The man who *ngena'd* (*tshinga'd*) such son's mother is merely the custodian of the family and its property until the heir attains majority. His function is to provide a family for the deceased estate.

(40) If the deceased man has left more than one widow, his younger brothers may each select one to *ngena* (*tshinga*) ; any widows not thus taken charge of must be supported by the deceased man's heir, provided they remain at his kraal. As regards their sexual life, the provisions of para. 86-89 apply.

Desertion by widow

(41) A widow who deserts her late husband's kraal or refuses to be *ngena'd*, makes her guardian by birth liable to refund the dowry he received for her, or part thereof, according to whether there are children of the marriage or not. The children in any case belong to the estate of the deceased. (See para. 71-2 Dissolution of marriage, desertion).

Liability for payment of dowry of widow

(42) When a husband dies before having completed payment of dowry for his wife, and she is *ngena'd* by a younger brother (or in the absence of a younger brother, by a junior relative of her deceased husband), the deceased man's father, if living, becomes liable for the balance of the dowry and may be sued for it. If he be dead, the *ngena* husband becomes liable and his property may be attached in satisfaction of a judgment for the dowry owing. In each case the person who pays such balance is entitled to recover from the de-

ceased man's estate or heir when the latter, if a son, attains majority.

(43) If the deceased husband paid no dowry at all, the man who *ngena's* his widow may pay in full, thereby acquiring the woman as his own wife in every respect. Her children, even those begotten by the deceased man, will then become the " property " of the dowry payer.

(44) The last paragraph, however, is subject to modification when there is property in the deceased man's estate. In such a case, the property is devoted to the payment of dowry for the widow. A *ngena* husband cannot elect to pay full dowry for the widow and thus acquire her as a true wife when there is property in her deceased husband's estate.

Dowry (" Lobolo " or " Ndzovolo ")

(45) The dowry (*Lobolo* or *Ndzovolo*) paid by a man for his wife is twelve head of cattle amongst the Tshangana (brought up to thirteen head when the *Qoma* or *Vuta* fee is included), and thirteen head among the Nhlanganu. In the Letaba district, dowry generally consists of ten or eleven head of cattle, and in the Sibasa area from nine to thirteen head, but usually eleven. In the latter district it is usual for part of the dowry to be paid in cattle and part in cash.

(46) The figures mentioned above for the Pilgrim's Rest area may be varied by agreement. For instance, a chief may set a value upon his daughter in excess of the usual dowry. If no special agreement can be definitely proved, the customary number of cattle appertains.

Dowry for deflowered bride

(47) When a man marries a woman who has been seduced by another man, no reduction is made in the customary amount of dowry payable, as a general rule. Any variation of the customary dowry value must be definitely proved to have been agreed upon. Even if the woman has an illegitimate child of which the prospective husband is not the father, and the prospective husband wishes to take over the child as well as the mother, he must pay additional dowry for the privilege. The additional amount is fixed by agreement, but in the Sibasa area two head of cattle are paid for a girl and one head for a boy.

In the case of J. Nkambule vs. Swartbooi Shongwe 1942, Case 1, it was held that payment of additional dowry cattle for an illegitimate child constitutes trafficking in human beings and is *contra bonos mores* and will not be countenanced by the Courts. It is argued, however, that the custom is not harmful, but benificent. The child is, in effect, legitimised, is provided with a home and maintenance, and above all, is kept in the custody of its mother.

In the case of Daniel Shabangu vs. Nyabana Mkanto, 1945, page 15, the Native assessors were at variance whether this custom was Shangaan. The assessors from Pilgrim's Rest and Sibasa stated that a man marrying a woman with illegitimate children by another man, could not take over these children, whereas the Letaba assessors asserted that he could do so by paying full dowry. The Pilgrim's Rest assessor was Induna Hokwe Ntimane, who was one of those who previously gave the author a contrary opinion which was incorporated into the first part of this paragraph.

Dowry for divorced woman or widow

(48) Similarly, no reduction of dowry is made when a woman, whose previous marriage has been dissolved, remarries. No premium is placed upon virginity in the marriage market. In the case of a widow remarrying, however, her children by the previous marriage belong to the estate of her previous husband unless they were awarded by a court to her father, or there is no traceable representative of her previous husband.

Payment of dowry following payment of seduction damages

(49) If the child of a previously unmarried bride was begotten by the man who marries her, no extra charge is made for the child by way of additional dowry. Any damages paid for seduction become merged in the dowry.

Dowry. Alternatives to cattle

(50) The Natives invariably consider the value of a dowry beast as five pounds. By arrangement, sheep, goats or other stock may be paid.

(51) In the cases of John Dhlamini vs Jonas Tshabalala, p. 33 1940; Hontjie Msimango vs Botha Sitole, p. 33, 1940; Breed Ndhlovu vs Mshiwane Shongwe, p. 66, 1940; and Malewu Thela vs Mabalani Nkambule, p. 115, 1940, the Natal and Transvaal Native Appeal Court has laid down that the alternative value of a head of cattle for purposes of dowry and damages is three pounds, which is a fairer estimate of the average value of a Native-bred beast. It is significant that when most of the cattle in the Lowveld of the Pilgrim's Rest district were shot for foot and mouth disease, the average valuation of many thousands of cattle was three pounds. The Natives were satisfied with the valuation and compensation paid and no complaints whatsoever were received. These cattle were considered to be of good Native type.

(52) On the other hand, when the above decisions of the Native Appeal Court were explained to the members of several public meetings in various parts of the above named district, many speakers were vehement in their condemnation of the change and it elicited not a single supporter.

(53) The recipient of dowry has the option of specifying payment in cash, and this option is frequently exercised, especially when stock restriction render the movement of cattle illegal.

Quality of dowry stock

(54) Dowry stock must consist of a fair average bunch of cattle (or other stock) with no preponderance of inferior, young, or male animals. (Cf. Annie and Dorah Nkosi vs Isaac Mlota, N.A.C., N. & T., 1939, II, part 1, p. 60).

(55) The alternative value of a beast being five pounds (now three pounds) does not imply that all cattle paid must be worth five (now three) pounds each, or even that the average value must be five (now three) pounds. The figure is used to liquidate a claim or to fix a cash payment, but the payer has the option of paying cattle if he wishes, even after a judgment has been delivered against him for cattle or their alternative value.

(56) Judgments regarding payment or return of dowry should invariably contain the alternative value of the cattle on the basis of three pounds a head.

Dowry paid by father

(57) It is customary for a man's father, if he owns cattle, to pay dowry for his son when the latter marries. He first so assists the eldest son of the first wife, and if he is affluent, the eldest sons of the minor houses in turn. A prosperous father will even provide the dowry for younger sons and for subsequent wives of his sons.

(58) If a father, who has the means, refuses to provide dowry for his son's first wife, he is casting him off and the son need owe no further allegiance to his father. The obligation on the father is merely moral and he cannot be sued by the son for failure to provide dowry. In the event of the father's having no stock when his son marries, no stigma attaches to him, but if the son provides his own dowry and the father later acquires property, it is incumbent upon him to provide a second wife for that son.

Return of dowry provided by father

(59) It may happen that a father provides dowry for a son whose wife subsequently deserts and the dowry becomes returnable. Once the father has provided cattle for his son's dowry, he has no further right in them, and if they are returned, they become the property of the son. The son is the only person who can sue for their return. Thereafter, if the son wishes to acquire another wife, he must provide the dowry himself.

Dowry provided by heir to estate for younger brothers

(60) After the death of a father, if the eldest son of the first house and universal heir has not apportioned the estate property to the sons of the various houses, the father's liability to provide wives, for his sons falls upon the universal heir, and, provided he has inherited estate property, he may be sued for the provision of dowry, limited by the value of his inheritance, by the eldest sons of the minor houses. As stated, the father's liability to provide dowry is only a moral obligation but his heir, in the above circumstances, incurs a legal obligation.

(61) When, however, the universal heir has observed Zulu custom, and divided the estate property among the various houses no obligation to provide dowry for his brothers attaches to him.

(62) In this connection the case of Joseph Maganu vs Jim Maganu (N.A.C., N. & T., I, 1938, p. 14) should be carefully read. Assessor Induna Gobinani, a noted authority on Tshangana law, deputising for Chief Thulilamahashe, although reputed to belong to the Zuluised element of the Tshangana, voiced true Tsonga custom, whereas the other Native assessors' opinions were tinged with the Zulu custom of "*Ethula*," for a definition of which see Stafford's "*Native Law as practised in Natal*, p. 19.

Failure to pay dowry

(63) If full dowry for a girl who has married has not been paid to her guardian within a reasonable period, the remedy is for him to sue for the balance. Then, if the judgment be not satisfied, the guardian may impound the wife until such time as a further payment on account or the balance of the dowry be paid,.

(64) The guardian should, in this case, make a public declaration, preferably before a chief's or induna's court, to obviate having to meet a claim in due course for the desertion by the woman of her husband. Failure to make the declaration, however, does not invalidate the impoundment.

"*Knife*" *fee*

(65) Payment of dowry by a prospective bridegroom's family should always be accompanied among the non-Tshangana Tsonga by payment of one pound, called a "knife" fee. If this be not paid, and a dowry beast dies after delivery, even years after the marriage, the payer is obliged to replace that beast. The fee is the "knife" with which the dowry receiver must skin the dead beast and cut it up for his own consumption. If the fee be not paid, the dowry receiver will not eat the dead beast, but will notify the dowry payer, who is entitled to the carcass.

(66) In the Letaba district, if dowry consists of cattle and cash, no "knife" fee is payable.

(67) In the event of dowry having to be returned, the "knife" fee is also returnable.

Death or loss of dowry stock

(68) Ordinarily, the death of a dowry beast prior to delivery to the recipient is the loss of the payer, but after delivery has been effected, the guardian bears the loss, provided that the bride has been delivered to her husband.

Symbolical delivery of dowry

(69) Delivery of dowry may, however, for various reasons, be symbolical. In such case the stock is delivered by pointing it out and the payment is by word of mouth, whilst actually the stock remains in the kraal of the payer. Dominium passes to the recipient if the bride has been handed over to her husband and when she is handed over.

(70) In cases of dispute about dowry, it is always advisable to ascertain whether actual transfer by movement of the dowry animals has been effected, otherwise a statement by one party that he has paid and a denial by the other that he has received the stock, may lead to futile confusion.

Dissolution of marriage , Desertion by wife

(71) On the desertion of her husband by a wife, for inadequate reason, the husband is entitled to the return of the dowry paid for her, and to the custody of the children born of the marriage.

Deduction from dowry in respect of children

(72) This custom has, however, been modified by the Native Appeal Court in the cases of Elliot Makoa vs Daniel Macemola (N.A.C., N. & T., 1939, II, Part 1, p. 62) and Jim Tusi vs Cekwana Nombete Mahlaba (N.A.C., N. & T., 1939, II, Part 1, p. 63), to accord with the more usual and more equitable practice prevailing among other Bantu tribes. By this ruling, there must be deducted from the dowry returnable one beast in respect of each child born of the marriage, as compensation for the husband's "use of the woman".

(73) In the Sibasa area, the husband may claim either the return of the dowry, less two head of cattle for each female child, and one head for each male child born of the marriage, or he may renounce his rights in the children and claim the full amount of dowry paid.

(74) The husband is not entitled to any children conceived after the desertion if the marriage is dissolved, and no deduction is made from the dowry to be returned in respect of such children.

(75) Return of the dowry dissolves the marriage, even if there be no order of court.

Justifiable desertion by wife

(76) A wife is justified in deserting her husband if he accuses her of witchcraft, or if he persistently illtreats her, or fails to support her and her children to such an extent that their health or happiness is endangered. If this be proved, the husband is not entitled to refund of his dowry. It needs an order of court to dissolve the marriage. A wife is not entitled to desert her husband on account of one assault, or even occasional light chastisements, as women are generally treated in the same way as children : the ill-treatment must be abnormal and serious to justify her leaving her husband.

(77) Amongst the Tsonga of the Sibasa area there is no such thing as justifiable desertion by a wife. A husband never loses his rights in her, and even if the desertion is reasonable on her part, and caused by the misbehaviour of the husband, the woman's father must return the dowry, less the usual deduction for children. If a husband accuses his wife of witchcraft, he must send her to her father with a fee of ten shillings accompanied by his official messager or *ntsumi*. If the father is not satisfied with the allegation, he consults a diviner. In the event of the latter's confirming the allegation, the father has to refund the dowry, less the usual deductions for children. If, however, the diviner exonerates the woman, her husband has to pay the woman's father three head of cattle as damages for his false accusation.

European courts, however, would not support any such custom based on a belief in witchcraft. On the contrary, existing legislation imposes criminal sanctions on persons imputing witchcraft or resorting to allegedly supernatural practices.

Apparently the only remedy available to a maltreated Tsonga wife in the Sibasa area, apart from causing her father to forfeit the dowry paid for her, is recourse to the criminal law of the land.

Husband's remedy for desertion

(78) In the case of wrongful desertion by a wife, her husband has an action against the woman's father or his heir for the return of the woman and his children (if they accompanied her), and alternatively for the return of the dowry, less any deduction in respect of children as stated above, and the custody of his children.

(79) He may not claim the return of the dowry outright without asking for restitution of congugal rights, unless he adduces sufficient reason for such a course, e.g. that his wife has died since deserting him, that she is living a life of prostitution, that she frequently deserts him, that she is living with another man as his wife, or that her whereabouts are unknown.

(80) If, without good reason, the husband insists on the return of his dowry, and does not want the return of his wife, this is tantamount to a rejection by him and he loses his dowry and children, who thereupon belong to the woman's father or his heir.

(81) In the Sibasa area, however, a deserted husband may claim the return of his dowry outright, without being obliged to sue for the return of his wife.

Progeny of dowry stock

(82) When dowry stock is returnable to the payer, their progeny remains with the payee. Only the number originally paid is considered for purposes of return of dowry. This, of course, applies only when the dominium of the property has passed to the dowry receiver. When stock has been delivered, but the marriage has not been consummated, the stock is still the property of the payer, and he is entitled to any increase.

Desertion by widow

(83) The above notes in regard to a wife apply equally to a widow, who is regarded as still married to her late husband's family. The right of action against a guardian for the desertion of a widow vests in the man who has *ngena'd* (*tshinga'd*) her, or if there is no such man, the heir of the widow's deceased husband, or if he is a minor or the heir is not available, the kraal head of the establishment where the woman legally lives.

Widow establishing own kraal

(84) In a case heard at Bushbuckridge between members of the Tshangana tribe, assessors Chief

Thulilamahashe and Induna Hokwe stated, in answer to questions:

"A widow, who has been *ngena'd* by her late husband's brother, may have a son of her late husband, the son being a major, or even a big boy capable of supporting his mother. If the mother and son leave the kraal where the former was *ngena'd*, and start an independent establishment, the *ngena* husband has no claim on the woman's guardian for desertion. The purpose of *ngena* has been accomplished, and the woman becomes an independent kraal-head. The *ngena* husband should, however, still perform those religious rites which are ordinarily performed by the boy's father.

(85) If however the children of the late husband are still small, incapable of acting for themselves, and the woman deserts, the *ngena* (*tshinga*) husband may sue the woman's guardian for the custody of the children and for the return of the woman, or alternatively the return of the children and the dowry paid for the woman. In such case, the dowry, if returned, must eventually be rendered to the heir of the deceased husband."

Desertion by husband

(86) A husband sometimes leaves home to work in a labour centre and is never heard of again. He may die in circumstances where his true identity is not established, or he may decide to cut adrift completely from his wife and family.

In these circumstances, Native law harshly requires the wife to remain under control of her husband's male relatives, or be regarded as a deserting wife. These relatives are obliged to support her and her family.

(87) Frequently, after the lapse of years, the death of the husband is presumed by the family and the woman is *ngena'd* (*tshinga'd*) by the next younger brother of the absent husband. This is not true custom and the woman cannot be forced to acquiesce in such a union, although she generally agrees. Strict custom requires that the woman remain at her husband's kraal and not be coerced in any way regarding her sexual life by her husband's relatives. None of them has any right to insist on cohabitation with her. On the other hand, her right to sexual satisfaction is recognised—one of the few cases where any right whatsoever is allowed a woman—and no action for adultery lies with any man who is intimate with the woman. Any child of such intercourse belongs to the absent husband, and ultimately, to his heir. The child of this promiscuous union may become heir to the runaway husband.

(88) In a case tried by me, assessors Chief Thulilamahashe and Induna Hokwe held that the above rule applied where the husband is an incurable criminal lunatic under legal restraint.

(89) Desertion by a husband does not dissolve a marriage or give cause for dissolution unless such desertion has resulted in the wife becoming destitute and obliged to seek other protection to keep body and soul together. This would amount to continuous cruelty and thus justify dissolution of the marriage.

This does not apply in the Sibasa area (vide para. 77).

Death of wife

(90) Finally, a customary union is dissolved by the death of the wife, unless a substitute wife is provided and where there is no *Nhlantswa* wife (See para. 24-33 "Substitute wife" and para. 34. *Nhlantswa*).

Barrenness of wife

(91) There is no remedy, except for that mentioned in para. 28 for the spouse of a woman who is barren, nor for a wife whose husband is impotent. In neither case is the other party to the marriage entitled to claim dissolution of the union.

ADULTERY

Damages

(92) Sexual intercourse by a wife with a man other than her husband, whether or not followed by pregnancy, entitles the husband to recover damage from the adulterer.

(93). The measure of damages in the Zoutpansberg district is two head of cattle, in Letaba district two head of cattle and one goat, in Pilgrim's Rest and Nelspruit districts five head of cattle. The monetary value of such cattle is as detailed in para. 51.

(94) Mr. Emmett holds that the figure of five

head is foreign to the Tsonga. In the Pilgrim's Rest and Nelspruit districts, however, five head of cattle are invariably claimed by the Tsonga, and the old men state that that was the practice prior to their emigration from Portuguese East Africa. In the Cape Province also, damages for adultery consist of five head of cattle amongst most tribes.

Adultery by widow

(95) A *ngena* (*tshinga*) husband, who takes over a widow after the death of her husband, is considered to have the right of intercourse with the widow and does not commit adultery with her. He has the right to institute action should the woman cohabit with any other man. A widow is in the same position as a wife as regards adultery, because the death of her husband does not dissolve the marriage. A woman marries, not so much an individual as a family, for the benefit of that family.

(96) Where a widow has not been *ngena'd* (*tshinga'd*), the person to institute action for her adultery is the heir of her late husband or his guardian, if he be a minor.

(97) In each case, any damages recovered are the property of the deceased husband's heir.

Children born of adultery

(98) Children born of a married woman as the result of her adultery belong to her husband, who has all rights in them.

Repeated adultery

(99) In awarding damages for a second or subsequent seduction of a married woman, attention must be paid to the full circumstances. It may be found that a husband is making capital from his wife's unfaithfulness in order to collect damages. In such a case damages are greatly reduced or withheld altogether.

SEDUCTION

Damages

(100) Any man who seduces an unmarried girl, whether she be a virgin or not, and whether pregnancy follows or not, is liable to the girl's guardian for damages.

(101) In the Pilgrim's Rest and Nelspruit districts, the measure of damages is two head of cattle, and in Letaba district two head of cattle and one goat. In the Sibasa district one beast is ordinarily payable, but in the case of a girl "engaged" to a man who has paid dowry for her, she is considered as already being his wife, and two head of cattle are payable by a man (other than her proposed husband) who seduces her. These cattle are recoverable by her guardian, who, however, must render them to the man who has paid dowry for her when he delivers the girl to him. If the guardian does not do so, the proposed husband may reject her and recover his dowry.

The monetary value of cattle is as detailed in para. 51.

(102) A woman whose marriage has been dissolved and who has reverted to the guardianship of her father or his heir, is subject to this custom. Her value has not been reduced in the marriage market. (See also para. 108 Kraalhead responsibility for torts).

Children born of seduction

(103) Any child born as the result of a seduction belongs to the girl's guardian, unless and until the seduction is followed by a marriage as detailed hereafter.

Seduction followed by marriage

(104) If a seducer offers marriage and tenders dowry and the victim's guardian accepts, the question of damages falls away, and marriage is arranged, or, more properly, the damages merge into dowry when that is paid.

Dowry promised but not paid, following seduction

(105) It may happen that a man will seduce a girl and thereafter make an offer of marriage, which is accepted. He pays a few cattle on account of dowry, and promises the balance. If this balance, or reasonable instalments thereof, are not forthcoming within a reasonable time, the guardian of the girl may declare the marriage contract to be cancelled. He then has the right to treat the whole matter purely as a seduction, retain the children and two cattle in respect of the seduction of his daughter, and return the balance if any, to the seducer. (J. Mgiba vs J. Mahanuke, N.A.C., N. & T., 1939, p. 131).

(106) The girl will probably have been living

at the kraal of the seducer subsequent to the first seduction. In such a case, if any dowry at all has been paid, and the girl's father agreed to her living at her seducer's kraal, a marriage has been consummated. (See para. 1 Marriage ; requisites of). In this case, the matter can no longer be treated purely as a seduction . The girl's father, if he wishes to recover his dowry in full, must proceed as detailed in para. 63.

Repeated seduction of same woman

(107) In awarding damages for a second or subsequent seduction of a woman, attention must be paid to the full circumstances. It may be found that a guardian is using a girl as a prostitute for the purpose of collecting damages, or the girl is uncontrolled. In this case, damages are reduced or withheld altogether.

KRAALHEAD RESPONSIBILITY FOR TORTS

In seduction and adultery cases

(108) The head of a kraal is responsible for the torts committed by his wives and unmarried children who normally live with him, but not for temporary inmates of his kraal nor for married children.

(109) This rule may be extended to include wards of the kraalhead such as orphaned grandchildren or other relatives for whose maintenance he is responsible, or who normally admit his authority over them.

(110) In the Sibasa area, the kraalhead is not responsible for the torts of major sons, whether married or not.

(111) Except in the Sibasa area, a kraalhead may be joined, as second defendant, in an action in which his unmarried son or ward is sued for seduction or adultery damages. Their liability is joint and several.

Defamation

(112) In Magcekeni Mhlongo vs Magwababa Nzuza (N.A.C., N. & T., 1935, p. 13,) it was held that a husband is jointly responsible for an act of slander uttered by his wife.

(113) The same court, however, in Andries Mlati vs Mihlava Mabale (N.A.C., N. & T., 1937, p. 86) held that under Tshangana custom there is no action for slander. This is the case among the Tsonga of the Zoutpansberg, but Tshangana and Nhlanganu chiefs and indunas in the district of Pilgrim's Rest assert that an action does lie, and that damages—generally one beast—are payable to " clean a person's name ".

(114) In the Letaba district, the damages are payable only when witchcraft is imputed.

(115) In any case, it would seem that a Tsonga, who has suffered damages from a slander, would be able to institute action under the common law. In this event, he would not be able to join the kraalhead as defendant in accordance with some Native custom.

LENDING STOCK

Ukusisa or ku Vekisa

(116) The above term, in Zulu and Tsonga respectively, means the giving of stock to another for the temporary benefit of the recipient, as a sort of loan. The custom is well described in Whitfield's *South African Native Law*, and needs no elaboration here.

(117) The Tsonga custom in this respect is the same as followed by the Zulus. (Joseph Maganu vs Jim Maganu, N.A.C., N. & T., 1938, p. 14). Only stock may be *sisa'd* (*vekisa'd*), not cash or inanimate articles.

MAINTENANCE

Isondlo or Šiwundlo

(118). If a person undertakes the responsibilities of another regarding the maintenance of woman or children, he is entitled to maintenance fee called *isondlo* or *šiwundlo*.

(119) The fee is one head of cattle per individual maintained, regardless of the length of time maintenance is effected, or the cost thereof.

(120) The maintenance must be *bona fide*. *Isondlo* or *šiwundlo* cannot be allowed when the maintainer has wilfully deprived another of, or harboured against the wishes of the other, the persons maintained.

(121) In this coonnection Whitfield's *South African Native Law*, under the heading *Isondlo* is

informative, and depicts the custom as practised by the Tsonga tribes.

OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

Ownership of kraal property

(122) The Tsonga tribes differ from many others in their stystem of ownership and inheritance. While the head of a kraal is alive, all property in the kraal belongs to him and he may do as he likes with it. His unmarried sons and daughters are minors and their earnings belong to him. There is no division of property into houses (wives' separate huts or estates): it is lumped together as one entity.

Son's earnings for dowry

(123) If a kraalhead, however, is unable to provide dowry for his son, it is usual for that son to go away to work and remit money home from time to time for the purchase of dowry stock. In this case, the father is obliged to devote the money to the purpose for which it was remitted, and may not use it for his own purposes.

Allocation of dowry received

(124) Dowry received for a daughter of whatever wife or house belongs to the father and not to the house which produced the daughter. It is fairly usual, however, for a father to allow such stock to be used by the wife who bore the daughter in question. There is no action at the disposal of a son of any wife for stock received by the father for a girl of the same mother and which is disposed of by the father. The latter is free to sell it, place it at the disposal of another house, or do as he pleases with it.

Universal heir

(125) On the death of a kraalhead, all property in the kraal passes to his eldest son by the first wife.

(126) In case there is no son of the first wife, the eldest son of the second wife becomes universal heir, and so on, with all the obligations of the universal heir.

Distribution of estate

(127) The universal heir should give each eldest son of minor houses a share, although this course is not obligatory, and he must hand over any dowry in his possession and which was received for the daughter of a minor wife, to the eldest son of that wife, together with its progeny.

(128) He is not obliged to restore dowry stock disposed of by his late father. In the event of there being no son of a minor wife, the eldest son of the first wife is entitled to all dowry accruing to that house, and is liable to maintain its members.

(129) When the universal heir has handed over dowry to the sons of minor wives, his obligations to them cease. They must provide their own dowry when they marry. If, however, there is no stock allotted or accruing to a minor house, the universal heir must provide dowry for his younger brothers if he owns stock, and the younger brothers can enforce this right by civil action. The universal heir takes the place of the deceased father in this respect, with the exception that he can be forced to provide the dowry, whereas the actual father's obligation is only moral and not enforceable at law.

(130) Any cattle taken by a universal heir from any house to provide dowry for any other house must be returned in due course. For local variations in the practice of distributing estates, see Joseph Maganu vs Jim Maganu, N.A.C., N. & T., 1938, p. 14.

Heir's liability for estate debts

(131) The universal heir is liable for all debts and obligations contracted by his late father; not only for debts not exceeding the value of his inheritance. (Wm. Maguga vs. Ngwana Scotch, N.A.C., N. & T., 1930-31, p. 54).

(132) When a father receives dowry for his daughter, and after his death the woman deserts her husband, the universal heir must refund the dowry. If the woman, however, is of a minor house, and her dowry has been paid over to the heir of that house by the universal heir, the latter has no further responsibilities for that house, and the refund must be effected by the heir of that house.

Woman's competence to own property and conduct business.

(133) Generally speaking, a Tsonga woman cannot own property and has no *locus standi*,

unassisted, in court. While unmarried, she is a minor under the guardianship of her father, and when married, she is a minor under the guardianship of her husband.

In Daniel Shabangu vs Nyabana Nkanto, 1945, p. 16, it was held that the appointment of a woman as guardian when she herself is under tutelage, is contrary to Native custom.

Father's liability for deserting married daughter

(134) If a wife deserts her spouse, she immediately passes back to the guardianship of her father, or his heir, to whom the deserted husband may look for the return of the woman, or of the dowry paid by him. This rule applies even when the woman does not return to her father and he is ignorant of her whereabouts. The unfortunate father has perpetual liability, after having received dowry for a daughter, to keep her with her husband unless the marriage has been dsisolved.

Woman as kraalhead managing own affairs

(135) Where a woman has reached a mature age, and has no male relatives of her late husband or of her own willing to maintain her, such as a widow whose husband's relatives have abandoned her or whose whereabouts cannot be ascertained, and who is managing her own affairs, she is reckoned to be a major, capable of owning property, and with a right to appear in court on her own behalf.

(136) She may receive dowry for her daughters and generally assume the functions of a kraalhead. Immediately a son of hers reaches majority, however, her authority passes to him and he becomes the head of the kraal. The age of majority in this case would appear to be twenty-one years.

(137) Male relatives, smitten by a sense of responsibility only when dowry accrues to such an emancipated woman through the marriage of her daughters, and who have previously ignored her existence and their liability to maintain her, will not be permitted to benefit by their relationship when they have avoided its obligations.

(138) On the death of an emancipated woman who has born no child, her nearest male relative would be entitled to succeed to her property, but illegitimate children, even daughters, would succeed if there are any, to the exclusion of other claimants who have not discharged their obligations to the woman.

CASES QUOTED

(All from Native Appeal Court Reports, Natal and Transvaal Division).

Andries Mlati vs Mihlava Mabale: 1937, p. 86, (in para. 113).

Annie and Dorah Nkosi vs Isaac Mlota: 1939, II, part 1, p. 60. (in para. 54).

Breed Ndhlovu vs Mshiwane Shongwe: 1940, p. 66. (in para. 51).

Daniel Shabangu vs. Nyabana Mkanto, 1945, p. 15.

Daniel Sibeko vs Gordon Malaza: 1938, p. 117. (in. para. 30).

Elliot Makoa vs Daniel Macemola: 1939, II, part, 1 p. 62. (in para. 72).

Hans Tyobeka vs,. Wilson Madlewa, 1943, p. 40 (in para, 71, 73, 76-81).

Hantjie Msimango vs Botha Sitole: 1940, p. 33. (in para. 51).

Jack Gidja vs. John Yingwane, 1943, p. 4 (in para. 3 and 24).

Jim Tusi vs Cekwana Mombete Mahlaba: 1939, II, part 1, p. 63. (in para. 72).

J. Mgiba vs J. Mahonuke: 1939, p. 131. (in para. 105).

J. Nkabule vs. Swartbooi Shongwe, 1942, Case 1 (in para. 47).

John Dhlamini vs Jonas Tshabalala: 1940, p. 33. (in para. 51).

Joseph Maganu vs Jim Maganu: 1938, I, p. 14. (in paras. 23, 62, 117, 130).

Malewu Thela vs Mabalani Nkambule: 1940, p. 115 (in para. 51).

Magcekeni Mhlongo vs Magwababa Nzuza: 1935, p. 13 (p. para. 112).

William Maguga vs Ngwana Scotch: 1930-31, p. 54 (in para. 131).

Zachariah Cele and Elizabeth Cele vs James Radebe: 1939, II, p. 49 (in para. 2).

DUAL ORGANISATION IN AFRICA

By M. D. W. JEFFREYS

The Yoruba of Northern Nigeria have an interesting tradition which throws light on the origin of the dual organisation. "There is a legend to the effect that he (Shango, god of the Yoruba) visited the earth many centuries ago, in the guise of a very old man, who supported his failing footsteps on a staff the height of his shoulder. This staff, which had certain properties, had two faces carved on it, representing a finer caste of countenance than that of the Negro. Ever since the staff has been constantly reproduced both in the original size and in minatures a few inches high. They are used in the ceremony of dedication. . . . Some novices carry an *aṣshe*, i.e. a wooden image with two heads as described above. . . . . The votaries of Shango may be recognised by the peculiar manner in which they do their hair, it being piled up in a crescent along the axis of the head ; also by the red and white beads worn round the neck and wrists."[54]

Dr. Johnson in his *History of the Yoruba*, describes a dual organisation. "War titles are of two grades, a senior and a junior, but both are modelled on one and the same plan. *Senior Grade*. The Balogun or Commander-in-chief comes first with his principal lieutenants, the Otun and Osi, that is generals commanding the right and left wings. . . . *Junior Grade*. The Seriki with his principle lieutenants also viz., the Otun, Osi, with the Ekerim, Ekorum and Ekifa. . . . . The Sarumi or chief of the cavalry and his men form a class by themselves—he also has his Balogun of the cavalry, the Otun, Osi, etc. These titles constitute what is called the *Oye Ibu*, or Town Titles, because they are conferred by the Bale or the chief of the town and the town council and they are all members of the town council with a right to speak and vote. Among the senior war titles may be mentioned the Bale's war chiefs. . . . The Balogun's Otun and Osi (right and left) are also the Otun and Osi of the town and of the army : they command respectively the right and left wings."[55]

In most areas the women do not appear to be connected with the dual organisation except as they are born into one or other moiety, but among the Yoruba, the women have posts allotted to them on a dual organisation basis, thus :—"In every (Yoruba) town there is besides the Bale, an Iyalode (Iya-ni-ode), Mistress of the Street, to whom all disputes between women are brought in the first instance, only those which she is unable to deal with being referred to the Bale. The Iyalode has as co-adjuters an Otun Iyalode (right-hand Iyalode) and an Osin-Iyalode (left-hand Iyalode)."[56]

According to tradition, Bini culture is of Ife, i.e. Yoruba origin, and one would expect to find traces of dual organisation there. Actually I have found but little and that little centres, as one would expect, round the Oba and his court. The disappearance of signs of the dual organisation among the Bini is probably due to the disrupting forces of the European slave trade. "The king's immediate attendants have the title of Ogbon, their manners and offices are as under :—

"Ehioba, representing the spirit of the king.
"Ohienba, representing the head of the king.
"Ewin, the wise man.
Oho Isa (1) (His private chaplins or Ohoen
Oho Isa (2) Ovisa, men of God)
Abori (1) (who heloped him to dress and uphold his right aim)
Abori (2) who helped him to dress and uphold his left aim)
Inene } (men in waiting)
Inaza }

The king had two other servants attached to his house-hold, such as Lodon, in charge of the Iworama or herdsmen.

Ine Nigun } (workers in brass and carvers in
Iholo } ivory)

. . . . . The six great offices in the country were each filled by a pair of assessors and their followers . . . . . Bereft of personal attendants the constitution resolves itself into the following formula :

	Pro-Kings	King or Oba and Assessors.	Offices.	
Lord Chancellor	Ezomo	Unwage Elibo	Iwebo	Equity.
Chief Justice	Ero	Okaiboga Okai Wagga	Abiogbe	Justice.
Archbishop	Olika	Ihama Sighare	Igofbwi	Church.
Head of the State	Edai Kin	Igwesibo Ogiemese	Iwase	State.
Speaker	Ogifa	Isibi Bazilu	Iwegwe	Commons.
Speaker	Iyase	Ine Obazwaiyi	Ibiwe	Lords.

"[57]

The above extract is from Government Official Report and shows traces of a duality still lingering round Court procedure and Court Officials. It is interesting to note that in the terms for "nobles (Lords)" and that for "commoners" the roots for the speakers are *-se* and *-fa* respectively, thus recalling the roots *-zi* and *-fe* of the Ibo.

This dual organisation is found in other parts of Benin. "Irrua, probably as a result of dual organisation, is divided into two portions, the Southern and senior group called Otoruwa (literally 'Land of Irrua') and the Northern one Uwesa ('The middle of Esa or Isa')"[58]

Dual organisation appears to have been a feature of the army in the old African kingdom of Melle. "The smaller military units (of the Melle army) led by the commandants were apparently grouped into a large formation, which in its turn was commanded by a military chief or general, and these large formations were again united into two divisions, one forming the army of the south, and the other of the north. The two generals-in-chief commanding these divisions were very high personages, who occasionally gave the reigning sovereign all that he could do to keep them in order."[59]

In Sierra Leone comes evidence of dual organisation:—"In other cases, especially where there are now two 'families' (i.e. *abuna*, clans) which share the succession to the chieftainship there is a tradition that the second family gained its position owing to assistance given in war to the original family. The rule of succession is, of course, not in the direct male line where there are two or more houses, which sometimes represent, not original clans, but descendants of the same male ancestor; the term for 'house' in this case is *kunte*. In some cases at least, the two clan rule is traced back to the fact that a sister of the original chief or one of his ancestors was the mother of a man elected to the chieftainship. . . . In some cases the two houses are actually of different tribes; at Kamalu there is a Loko and a Timne line. . . . . The original chiefs were by no means necessarily of the same blood as the people whom they governed. It is, indeed, not quite clear how far the country was populated, nor how far the travellers from the east brought their own people with them. . . ."[60]

Dr. Meek gives examples of dual organisation in Northern Nigeria which are interesting in view of his suggestions about the origin of this feature: "The principal clans (of the Katab and their neighbours, Zaria province) viz., Minyam and Agbat, have subdivisions which may be described as sub-clans, the characteristic feature of the sub-clan being that it constitutes a wife-stealing unit vis-a-vis any other sub-clan, of the same clan. The sub-clan appears to have come into existence by a process of fission which in the first instance resulted in a dual organisation. (But not a dual organisation of the specific type known to anthro-

pologists). Thus, the Minyam clan consists of the moieties Fakan and Aswen, each politically independent and each inclined to be hostile to the other, owing to the fact that each constitutes a group from which the other may abduct women to become secondary wives. The two sections claim to have had a common father. This cannot now be proved genealogically and may be a fictitious explanation of the rule which forbids inter-marriage between members of the two moieties—a rule which may have been based on reasons other than those of a blood relationship. The Agbate clan has a triple division viz., Gbor Kokwak (Kwak) Kpaisa and Nje, but it was said that the division was originally dual, the Nje being strangers who were adopted at a later date. The sub-clans are composed of kindreds. . . Thus, the Aswen subclan consists of the following kindreds : (1) Amurum Alan, (2) Yegofo, (3) Awai (4) Magamiya, (5) Kofo. Here again the organisation was in the first instance dual, consisting of two moieties, Amarum Alan and Yagofo—the former being the religious, and the latter the political, chiefs. The Awai were adopted into the clan as a reward, it is said, for having taught the Amarum Alan and Yagofo the art of skinning animals. . . . Magamiya and Kofo were also adopted, the former being immigrants from the Ikulu tribe and the latter from the Kagoro of Kabban clan."[61]

The Shuwa Arabs of Bornu show groupings into two moieties. " They number some 35,000 to 40,000 persons, distributed between five groups . . . . . these are :—

(1) The Kwalme. . . they are divided into eight septs.

(2) The Wulad Himet. . . Their ten septs are:

(a) Shiebat : Shiebat (two distinct septs who use the same name).

(b) Kilefat —

(c) Bulwa Hamsa : Bulwa Zarka.

(d) Juborat Hamsa : Juborat Zarka

(e) Wasabu : Musaribu.

(f) Wulad Mihimet —

In addition, the Wulad Himet have the following three subsidiary groups (A, B and C which divide into two moieties). . . . .

(A) The Hamadiye . . divided into two septs, Hamadiye : Habaniye.

(B) The Salamat. . . divided into two septs. Salamat : Assala.

(C) The Lesiye or Assale. . . The two septs of which they are composed both use the name Assale :

Assale : Assale.

(3) The Khuzam. . . comprise two septs. Khuzam : Jilefat.

(4) The Juhaynah. . . They are divided into two septs. . .

Beni Badur : Beni Set.

(5) The Tunjur. . . They consist of two septs. Tunjur : Kurata."[62]

The clearest instances of organised hostility between two moieties come from North Africa and often took the form of annual fights or games. " Formerly the town of Laghouat (in Algeria) was divided into two sections, that of Ouled-Serghina and that of Ouled-Hallaf. These two tribes hated each other most cordially and kept up a state of continual feud, often resulting in pitched battles and much bloodshed. Today, of course, the fighting between the two rival factions has been suppressed, but each sticks to his own quarter."[63]

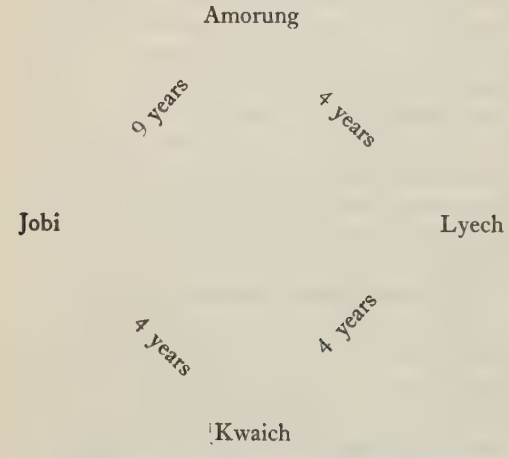
Mssr. Dautlé states that " on the *asura* eve the people of Mogador (Morocco) divide into two camps, which engage in simulated battles. At Mequinez it was formerly the custom for the young men and boys to have a fight with slings for about an hour on the twelfth day of the month in the afternoon. The ploughmen of Marrakesh have on the *asura* eve a tug of war between men and women, and it is believed that the side that wins the contest will rule over the other sex during the year."[64]

The next instance is reported among the Imejjat (Morocco) who live to the south of Tazerwalt. An annual feast is held in October and the whole tribe assembles to celebrate it. The tribe divides into the two moieties of Garb and of Sus. " They also bring flour of which *taguilla*, a kind of hard porridge, is made on the third day of the feast for the entertainment of the whole crowd ; and immediately after the meal all the people divide

into two parties, a northern representing the Garb and the southern representing Sus, and a fight with slings ensues which though only a game, is often attended with serious accidents. It is believed that if Sus wins this contest the year will be good and if Garb wins, bad."[65]

Much the same practices took place at Fez and were described in the time of Leo Africanus. Because they led to disorder, the authorities stopped them.

With these ceremonial fights may be compared those which form part of the initiation ceremony among the Hamitic Akum. Before describing these fights, Mr. Driberg outlines, among the Lango, a form of society which is clearly dual, thus :—" . . . an account must be given of a quinquennial festival known as the *aworon*, the festival of honouring the aged and the men of old as, though it is concerned with all aspects of Native life, its main motive is the instruction of the young men in the mysteries of rainmaking. . . . The *aworon* is essentially a quinquenial festival, but at the end of every sixteen years, there is a gap of nine years instead of four, after, which the cycle repeats. . . the initiates are divided into four groups named after certain animals. . . The cycle of *aworon* is as follows, starting with the *amorung* group :



. . . . The Jobi call the Lyech their fathers and the Kwaich call the Morung theirs. . . . . Though each group has its own specific songs, it is significant that the Jobi and Lyech share pigeon and guinea-fowl songs."[66]

It is evident that for these ceremonies the Lango are divided into two groups, Jobi and Lyech in one, as fathers and sons ; and Amorung and Kwaichin the other, also as fathers and sons. Mr. Driberg then states that these ceremonies, have been acquired from e.g. the Hamitic Akum but it is also possible that both acquired their cultures independently but from a common source. He writes :—" . . . Instead of four animal groups, there are eight, and the groups are named not only after animals but after inanimate substances, e.g. *esinga*, sand. Further, the initiates are always young lads and the ceremony would appear to be more truly one of initiation to puberty with less emphasis on rain, and the initiates permanently take the name of their groups as their own personal grade names. The eight groups are classed in two divisions of four groups each, and during the *aworon* there is a state of war between the two divisions, resulting in numerous deaths, though (as with the Lango) buffalo hide whips only may be used. This state of war is entirely outside the general truce. In these two divisions we may trace the very vague continuation of the *jobi* with the *lyech* and the *amorung* withthe *kwaich*, which would appear to have lost its original raison d'etrê."[67]

In the *aworon* ceremony of the Akum, septs of the tribe meet for religious function : the division of the initiates of the tribe, for whom the ceremony is held, into two moieties with a temporary state of war between them, is a feature of dual organisation and offers evidence that a whipping ceremony, described by Mr. Driberg, among these people originated from the mutual hostility sometimes found in a dual organisation.

This whipping ceremony is described as follows : " Should a quarrel arise between two villages with animosities too powerful to allow of mediation by the elders, a very tall tree was cut down and its branches lopped off. This done, the fighting men of each village would draw up in lines on either side, armed with lashes eight feet long. With these they would whip each other mercilessly until an umpire who stood at one end raised a

stick between them when he thought that they had punished each other enough. This apparently relieved the feelings of both parties, but it does not seem that any decision was arrived at or that either side was pronounced victorious. In each village there was a stand, rather like a tall drum with its end open, in which every one put his fighting lash."[68]

The fact that each village had its " lash stand ", that an umpire presided, that no decision was reached, suggests that the whipping belongs to the category of ceremonial fighting between two moieties of the same tribe.

The Masai of East Africa, a nomadic, pastoral people, show a well marked dual organisation. " It will be seen that these divisions (Gilat) have, as a common basis, two groups, the *Oodo Mongi* (red bull) and *Orok Kiteng* (black cattle), and one cannot but suspect that these were totemistic in their origin for the Masai still tell you that formerly all members of the *Orok Kiteng* group would use nothing for breeding purposes but black bulls, and similarly the *Oodo Mongi* would have nothing but red bulls ; at the same time they have, however, no objection to killing respectively black and red bulls for food. Again one cannot help suspecting that the names of these two groups have some connection with the fact that the Masai recognise a black god and a red one, the former being the beneficent one and the latter, malicious.

" The marriage laws among the Masai are profoundly affected by the various artificial restrictions introduced by the *gilat* and it is the existence of these barriers which probably prevents these divisions from being completely blotted out by the geographical grouping.

" The restrictions governing marriage among the Masai are far from simple, for whether a man may marry a certain woman depends first on the age or generation (*ol poror*) to which the girl's father belongs, and secondly on the *gilat* of the girl's father."[69]

Here marriage is connected with two restrictions, which on examination are but variations of those of the dual organisation. The tribe is divided into two main groups of red and black. In addition there is a ritual duality of left and right restricted to males. This ritual merits notice :— " Now we come to the *poror* or generation. These divisions which are alternatively termed ' right ' and ' left-handed ' and are connected with the circumcision, are confined entirely to males. . . . . The Masai cattle are marked with a brand peculiar to each *gilat*, but this is, however, not general, for only the cattle of the *moneak* (old men) and the senior *moran* (warrior class) are so marked. . . . . The discovery of the fact of the persistent repetition of these designs in cycles was strong evidence that they were not mere arbitrary patterns. The present Purko *moran*, for instance, of right hand or senior age (Ol Egelishu's *moran*) inscribe on their shields the badge formerly used by Terere who was *lutuno* of the Nyangai *poror* or age. Ol Aihotikush and his men, the Purko *moran*, for instance, of the left-handed or junior age, wear the badge of Ol Ekoiskir, who was *lutuno* of the age junior to Terere. The *laiok* who will, after the next *eunoto* ceremony, become the right-handed branch of a new age or *poror*, will wear Ol Egelishu badge."[70]

That a dual organisation also exists among the Nandi is clear. Sir Charles Elliot writes of them as follows :—" The Orkoiyot or medicine-man is greatly respected, and has the power of sanctioning or forbidding raids, but his authority seems to depend upon his supposed power of predicting the result of expeditions. Nevertheless, the civil organisation of the tribe was somewhat more developed than among the Masai, and we seem to see traces of two administrations, for the Nandi country was divided into districts, each governed by two men, the representive of the *Orkoiyot* and of the people respectively. As the *Orkoiyots* come of a Masai family and their office is precisely that of the Masai *Laibons*, it is probable that the whole system was introduced a few generations ago, and that the *Kiruogik*, or representatives of the people, are an older institution."[71]

Professor Seligman was not quite sure whether some form of dual organisation existed among the pagan tribes of the Nilotic Sudan and wrote as follows :—" Even where a common language is spoken, each community is not only autonomous, but is self-sufficing to a remarkable degree, nor

did we find any evidence of the existence of exogamous moieties or of clans. This does not hold for the northern hills: at Dilling there are two large exogamous groups. The Uri Ture and the Shil Tri, but their significance is not clear. . . . It is possible that the two lines of girl wrestlers described on p. 392 may be due to some form of dual organisation that we failed to discover."[72]

Among these tribes there are several other indications of the dual organisation, thus writing of the Bari, Dr. Seligan says:—" *Ngun* is the name given to a superhuman power, or more correctly powers—for there is no doubt that *Ngun* is regarded as dual. *Ngun lo ki* (sometimes *Ngun ki*), is equivalent to Ngun-in-the above', i.e. the sky, and *Ngun lo kak* (*Ngun kak*), signifying 'Ngun-below,' appeared sometimes to be synonyms of Ngun in different aspects and at other times they appeared to indicate different personalities. According to Mr. Whitehead, *Ngun li ki* is in opposition to *Ngun lo kak:* they dispute over the fate of human beings, for *Ngun li ki* cares to see people alive and walking on the earth, while *Ngun lo kak* wishes to draw them under the ground and so to kill them."[73]

The terms, God of the upper, and God of the lower world, quite clearly indicate a dual organisation, while the fact that the two moieties are at enmity, a feature common to the dual organisation, is also recorded. Continuity of the real world in the spirit world is also reported among the Nika, who project a dual organisation into the hereafter by declaring that " there are spirits of the left side and spirits of the right side."[74]

The Bari mentioned above, have a tradition of origin very similar to that of the Nuer, where dual grouping is displayed. This similar tradition, coupled with sky-gods, is a good indication that a dual organisation did once exist among the Bari. The tradition is:—" A long time ago the Bari married indiscriminately within the clan, but it so happened that a brother and sister married, and their children married, and they were unhealthy. The chiefs said that this sickness was due to the inter-marriage and ordered two bulls to be brought one from each house; the bulls were cut lengthwise, each in half, including the tongue and tail, and each party ate half their of own and half of the other ox, and thus was the tribe divided."[75]

The following two extracts, also from Professor Seligman's researches, give further evidence of the existence of a dual organisation among the pagan tribes of the Nilotic Sudan:—" The concluding ceremony (for rain-making) is performed at Tarangole, outside the house of Ikang. Here in a circular shrine lie the sacred spears. . . .A goat is killed by the two men of Lomini and Lomia, beer is brought into which the rain-makers spit, and this is drunk by the Lomini and Lomia assistants who smear the blood of the goat on the chests of the rain-makers. The flesh of the goat is cooked and eaten by old people of both sexes belonging to the Lomini and Lomia clans. . . . (A Neur tradition runs as follows). A certain Gau, who descended from heaven, married Kwong (according to one account an even earlier arrival from heaven) by whom he had two sons, Gaa and Kwook and a number of daughters. As there was no one with whom these could marry, Gau assigned several daughters to each of his sons, and to avert the calamities that follow incest, he performed the ceremony of splitting a bullock longitudinally, decreeing that the two groups might intermarry but that neither might marry within itself. Gaa, being the elder son, took the right side of the bullock, i.e. he became the 'land chief', *kwor muon*, the most important man in the tribe, and also according to the story, *kwor twac*, the chief of the leopard skin."[76]

Dr. Barth in 1850, while crossing Lybia, mentions the existence of Berber villages with a dual organisation. Describing the arrival of his caravan at Mizda, he wrote:—" So we proceded, passing between the widely separated quarters or villages distinguished as the upper, " el fok " and the lower, 'el utah,' and encamped on the sandy open space, a little beyond the lower village. . . . Mizda, most probably identical with the eastern 'Masti Roma' of Ptolemy, appears to have been an ancient settlement of the indigenous inhabitants of North Africa, the Berbers, and more particulary of a family or tribe of them called Kuntaror. . . . . "[77]

Further on in his travels he mentions a list of

villages in the Wadi Shiyat thus :—" The names of the villages along the valley proceeding from west to east are the following, after Edri, Témesan, then Wuenzerik, Bega (a couple of villages distinguished as Bega el foka and Bega el utiyah)etc."[177]

It is thus pparent that some Berber towns were divided into ' upper ' and " lower," and from the perpetual intercourse between Lybia and Egypt where the terms " upper " and " lower " occur in ancient Egypt as the names of two parts of one kingdom, some such duality in Berber towns could be expected.

In predynastic times Egypt, between Syene and Memphis, was called Land of the South, i.e. Upper Egypt and that between Memphis and the Mediterranean Sea was ' land of the North ', i.e. ' Lower Egypt ' ".[78]

When these two kingdoms were united under one ruler, the name of Egypt became, " Ta-Mers, i.e. the land Upper and Lower."[79]

This name later on became shortened to "Taui, i.e. ' Two Lands '. ". The Hebrews " called the whole land (of Egypt) ' Mizrain ' (Gen. X, 6). and many think this dual form refers to the Two Lands i.e. the South and the North."[80]

It may be pointed out that Lower Egypt was the ' Sea-side ' as opposed to Upper Egypt, the 'Landside.' Dr. W. J. Perry in his researches on dual organisation found that the two moieties were often divided into ' Sea-side ' and ' Land-side.' I have come across only one instance so far in Africa, of a division into ' Sea-side ' and ' Land-side.' This instance occurs in a folk story and so is not part of the social structure of the people. In a collection of Temne fables there occurs the following narrative :—" They tell how, in the beginning, He (God) made only one pair of human beings, a male and female, giving them first rice, and afterwards flesh to eat : and teaching them which animals were not fit to be eaten. Afterwards he showed them all kinds of medicines and all sorts of tools, a hoe and a dagger, an axe and a bill-hook ; and gave them fire. They went naked and had no clothes. Of the four first children that were born, a boy and a girl were white, and a boy and a girl were black. These God separated, placing the white by the waterside and giving them all things necessary to get money and become gentlemen ; putting the black children in the country, on hills and in forests, and teaching them to make grass houses and mud houses, and to do all laborious work. Afterwards, as they increased, He divided the countries among them them."[81]

A few Bakweri attributed their terms ' Lelu—Upper " and " Mbenge—Lower " to the fact that the territory rises inland from the sea. Mbenge was the sea-side and Lelu the land-side of a town. It was also mentioned that in Liberia the Mandefu occupied the sea-side and the Mandetan, the land-side.

On tabulating the evidence collected in this article, it is found that a dual organisation is exhibited by Sudanic, Semi-Sudanic. Hamitic, Northern Bantu and Bantu speaking peoples. Unfortunately full information under each heading for each tribe is not available.

Locality	Tribe	Dual Terms	Translation	Marriage tabu	Host--ility	Remarks—
Nigeria	Ibo	Ezi Ifite	Upper Lower	—	—	The old people so divided the towns.
,,	Ngwa	Ezi —	Family	—	—	—
,,	Ojungbanga	— —	— —	—	—	—
,,	Sobo	Ukurie Umungoro	— —	—	—	—

Locality	Tribe	Dual Terms	Translation	Marriage tabu	Host--ility	Remarks—
Nigeria	Tiv	Ichongo Ipusu	Circumcised Uncircumcised	—	—	—
,,	Irigwe	— —	Male Female	—	—	—
,,	Karague	Wakuma Wasiyamba	Nobles Serfs	—	—	—
,,	Owerri	— —	— —	—	—	—
,,	Ijaw	— —	Higher Lower	—	—	—
,,	Kyedya	Bgelde Talho	Nobles Serfs	—	—	—
,,	Yoruba	Otun Osi	Right Left	—	—	Religious Ceremonial.
,,	Bini	— —	— —	—	—	Religious. Ceremonial. Offices of State.
,,	Minyam	Fakan Aswen	—	—	Yes	Religious, Ceremonial.
,,	Gwari	— —	Hill Plain.	—	—	—
,,	Shuwa	— —	— —	—	—	—
,,	Angas	Amper Kabwir	— —	—	Yes	—
,,	Eggon	Eholo Nzo	Upper Lower	—	Yes	—
Cameroons	Bakweri	Lelu Mbenge	Upper Lower	—	—	Geographical situation.
,,	Duala	Jedu Mbenge	East West	—	—	,,
,,	Bakundu	Bareka Basamai	— —	In some villages	—	Religious, Ceremonial.
,,	Ambele	Agen Pula	Right Left	—	—	ditto.
,,	Mbonge	Dindongo Dibokatu	— —	—	—	—
,,	Balundu	Bubanga Badiku	Upper Lower	—	—	—
,,	Nkongwa	Ekamfwa Esaa	Right Left	—	—	Religious, Ceremonial.
,,	Ngolo	Bakussa Bukotie	— —	—	—	—

Locality	Tribe	Dual Terms	Translation	Marriage tabu	Host--ility	Remarks—
Cameroons	Bikom	Eyu	Upper	—	—	Religious,
		Tinela	Lower			Ceremonial.
,,	Banso	Bala	—	—	—	Religious,
		Zham	—	—	—	Administration.
Gold Coast	Mandingo	Tan	ten	—	—	—
		Fu	ten			
,, ,,	Dahomey	Miegan	Right	—	—	Religious,
		Mayo	Left			Administration.
,, ,,	Temma	Awudun	—	—	—	—
		Asaman	—			
,, ,,	Ashanti	Fan	—	—	—	Administration.
		Shan	—			
Liberia	Kru	—	Upper	—	—	Religious,
		—	Lower			Administration.
,,	Mandefu	Gbande	—	—	—	—
		Gbunde	—			
Lybia	Berber	Fok	Upper	—	—	—
		Utah	Lower			
Algiers	Laghaout	Serghina	—	—	Yes	—
		Halaf	—			
Morocco	Mogador	—	—	—	Yes	Religious,
		—	—			Ceremonial.
Morocco	Imejjat	Garb	—	—	Yes	Religious,
		Sus				Ceremonial.
Egypt	Egyptians	Shema	Upper	—	—	Religious.
		Meh	Lower			Administration.
French Sudan.	Lobi	Sun	Gens de famille	—	—	—
		Gbangwar	Captiffs			
,,	Melle	—	North	—	—	Administration.
		—	South			
French Cameroons.	Ditam	—	Upper	Yes	—	—
		—	Lower			
East Africa	Lango	—	—	—	Yes	Religious.
		—	—			
,, ,	Galla	Harusi	—	Yes	—	ditto.
		Barietum				
,, ,,	Nandi	Orkoiyot	Nobles	—	—	Administration.
		Kiruogik	Commoners			
,, ,,	Nika	—	Right	—	—	Religious.
		—	Left			
,, ,,	Pokomo	Dzuu	Upper	—	—	—
		Nsini	Lower			

Locality	Tribe	Dual Terms	Translation	Marriage tabu	Host--ility	Remarks—
East Africa	Masai	Oodo Mongi Orok Kiteng	Red Bull Black Cattle	Yes	—	Religious.
,, ,,	,,	—	Right hand	Yes	—	Ceremonial.
,, ,,		—	Left ,,			
,, ,,	Bari	Ngün-lo-ki Ngun-lo-kak	Upper Lower	—	—	Religious.

The Table, incomplete as it is, nevertheless shows that the dual organisation is not conspicuously associated with marriage even though it is closely connected with religion. This finding does not agree with the postulates of Rivers. On the other hand, Professor Hocart stresses the use of two special names for the two moieties as being a characteristic feature of the dual organisation. This feature is widely represented in Africa. Thus, there is a traditional name for the two moieties of which the terms " Upper " and " Lower " occur thirteen times, the terms " Right " and " Left " six times, the terms " Nobles " and " Commoners " four times and once as " Circumcised " and " Uncircumcised ". As it is an invariable custom that all rulers in Africa are circumcised, these two terms could be bracketed with " Nobles " and " Commoners ".

The curious division of a tribe into " Male " and " Female " calls for comment. In many parts of the Cameroons, the right-hand is called the " man-hand " and the left, the " woman-hand." This association of the sexes with the different side of the body may throw light on the use of the terms " male " and " female " for the two moieties in certain tribes by suggesting that here " male " and " female " are merely disugised forms of " right " and " left." The right hand moiety always takes precedent, just as in ancient Egypt, " Upper Egypt always took precedence over Lower Egypt."[82]

This dualism is not restricted to a race or to a language and is not a natural condition of society, and it therefore follows that it is connected with a culture contact. Its occurence among such widely separated people as the Negro Temne of Sierra Leone and the Hamitic Galla of Nyasaland suggests a northern source from which these and others adopted this cultural complex, unless indeed it is suggested that each tribe independently invented so arbitrary a system. Such a possibility must be considered and the next section deals with this and other possibilities:

(d) *Discussion.*

Some answer is required to the question, how did this dualism arise which extends from the Sudanic speaking Temne of Sierra Leone to the Bantu-speaking tribes of Nyasaland, from the Berbers of North Africa to the Ovambo of Angola.

Dr. Meek leans towards the explanation that dual organisation is connected with marriage, if it did not arise out of marriage, much as one school of thought considers totemism to have done. Dr. Meek writes:—" How far this practice of bisection is a blind following of an ancient custom, or is due to social and political factors which are still at work, would be an interesting subject for investigation. In some Ibo communities the custom would seem to have some connection, direct or indirect, with the practice of exogamy. For, at Ama-Imo Ikeduru an instance was obtained of a large exogamous group which had recently split into two sections between which intermarriage is now permissible. In Owerri itself, however, the dual groupings have no apparent connection with exogamy, as the rule of exogamy covers the entire community with the exception of the Umu-Oyima and Umu-Ano, both of whom are recent settlers. No Native of Owerri may marry any other Native of Owerri unless he or she belongs to the Umu-Oyima and Umu-Ano kindreds. There is a further proviso that members of the Umu-Onyeche and Umu-Ano kindreds may not intermarry, as these two kindreds are next door neighbours. So here we have an in-

stance of two grounps co-alescing to form an exogamous unit—the exact opposite of the case recorded at Ama'imo Ikeduru.

" It was stated that not very long ago the Umu-Ororo-Njö and the Ama-Awom constituted a single *nchi*, or group, i.e. that the Imu-Ikenegbu group has only recently bisected itself into two distinct and political groups. The explanation given in this case was that an *nchi* tends to split in two as a result of the increasing separation between two kindreds claiming descent from one man and two wives. The descendants of each wife form a distinct *onunne* (children of one mother) and the two *nune* so formed tend to become independent of each other, and in some cases even hostile. In due course the *onnune* again subdivides itself, the mode of reckoning descent from the " first " mother giving place to that of descent from a " later" mother. This statement may be accepted as a rough mode of explaining how subdivisions arise, but does not explain the frequency of a dual organisation rather than a triple, or a quadruple organisation, as there is no reason why the original founder of a family should not have had three or four or more wives instead of two. . . And as for the Ibo as a whole, all we can say is, that just as it takes two to make a quarrel or a marriage, so the Ibo find that a dual organisation is a natural condition of society and an aid to its control."[83]

It is thus clear that Dr. Meek has formed no decided opinion that dual organisation arose out of marriage but hints that it may be a natural condition of society. If it were a natural condition of society it would be natural to find this feature among, e.g. the Ibibio who are contiguous with the Ibo or among the Fulani, but dual organisation is not found among these and other tribes and the explanation that dual organisation is a natural condition of human society may be ruled out to account for its occurence.

Dr. Alice Werner came to the conclusion that among the Pokomo, a division into two groups had no connection ith exogamy. My own field work shows that there is no relation existing today between dual organisation and a marriage tabu. That there may have been, is a surmise based on very scanty evidence. The clearest instance comes from the Galla of East Africa, while four villages of the Bakundu in the British Cameroons have a marriage tabu connected with dual organisation.

A cautious school of thought whose opinions are expressed by Professor I. Schapera in an article on the dual organisation leaves the origin vague and indeterminate, thus :—" The dual organisation is ascribed sometimes to a process of fission whereby a single group comes to be divided into two moieties. On the other hand Rivers (The History of Melanesian Society, chap. XXXVIII) emphasing the ideas of contrast between the two moieties as found in Melanesia, believed that the dual organisation there developed as a result of the intermixture of two distinct peoples, one of each migrated into the region and set up a social system in co-operation with the communities found there. This idea is carried still further, by not restricting the term ' dual organisation ' to the moiety system to which it alone applies, but extending it to dualism of every form, economic, political, religious, mythological, etc.—regarded as having originated in Egypt as the result of a process whereby a duality of ruling groups became completely superimposed on a duality of a territorial nature (Upper and Lower Egypt) and as having spread with these characteristics to all parts of the world where it is now found (cfr. W. J. Perry, *The Children of the Sun*). This theory, however, suffers from defects which render it unacceptable.

" All theories which attempt to find a single origin for the dual organisation are inadequate. This mode of social structure cannot be regarded either as the invention of one people or as the result of one particular process. It is a recurring institution that has arisen in different places—now by the reduction of clans, now by the fusion of two inter-marrying groups, and again by other processes. No one theory of origin can be laid down as conclusive : each occurrence must receive special investigation."[84]

The two theories of the origin of dualism, namely that of Perry and that of Rivers are here dismissed as inadequate and the nett result of Professor Schapera's cautiousness is to leave un-

answered the question of the origin of dual organisation. I propose to discuss with reference to Africa, the origin of dual organisation.

Rivers himself never offered an explanation, he took it as he found it and gave a definition of what he considered was the essential feature of this system. " Rivers was of the opinion that the dual organisation of Melanesia came into being as the result of the intermingling of two distinct peoples, one of which migrated into the region and set up a social system in co-operation with the communites that they found there. . . . He does not state that this must have been the origin of the dual organisation, but says : ' At the present time students of sociology are almost unanimous in ascribing the dual organisation of society to a process of fission whereby a single social group came to be divided into two moieties. The opposite opinion that the dual organisation came into being by a process of fusion has been put forward, but has few adherents. It has been my task in this book to show that many of the social institutions of Melanesia have come into being as the result of the interaction of peoples, and it will be quite in accordance with the rest of my argument that I should now attempt to show that the dual organisation may have had a similar origin '. He then proceeds to adduce the hostility between the moieties, the belief in physical and mental differences, certain incidents of mythology and so forth in support of his scheme. Thus, while making no positive statements with regard to the origin of dual grouping he marshals facts to support the thesis that it had its origin as the result of fusion."[85]

If this argument is sound, namely, that the dual organisation is the result of fusion, then, where found in Africa, it should be traceable to the same process. I shall now consider the possibilities that may arise as the result of fusion and will assume that no dual organisation existed in either group prior to the contacts. Then it seems that four possibilities require investigation, namely :—

(1) Neither group starts with any social culture.

(2) The indigenous tribe has social structure and the invader none.

(3) The invader has a culture and the indigenous, none.

(4) Both have a social culture.

Possibility No. I forces the acceptance of the evolution of a social culture anywhere after fusion by tribes that started with none. No such instance is known in Africa. If it is accepted that the Hottentots of South Africa are the result of the miscegenation, or the fusion of early Hamites and Bushmen, then the Hottentots may illustrate possibility No. I, yet no signs of the dual organisation is found among them.

The second possibility implies that the indigenous tribe had, on its own initiative, developed a culture. It may have, but there is no evidence that any African tribe did so. So far as Africa is concerned, the only tribe that has been in a position to do so has been the Bushman and he cannot be said to have a tribal structure, while all the known invaders of his territory have had a higher culture than his.

Where the indigenous tribe has a culture and the invader none, one of two things happens : either the invader destroys the culture which, having no sign of the dual organisation at the start, continues as before, or the invader amalgamates with the indigenous people. In neither case does a dual organisation arise. I am unable to quote any actual African instances of the above possibility.

The third possibility has in the past been common, and instances, other than that of the Bushmen being invaded by culturally superior tribes, are known. Thus, the Fulani invaders of Nigeria have come into contact with tribes with very little culture, but in no case has the contact resulted in a dual organisation. The community is divided into rulers and slaves and society proceeds as it did in South Africa before slavery was abolished. Intermarriage was forbidden. Rivers himself ruled out this type of dualism.

The fourth possibility is the commonest. It is going on in Europe today and in Africa it has been going on for centuries, but no known instance is reported of the fusion of invader and invaded producing a dual organisation. A good example is the invasion of Egypt by the Mohammedans.

Hence it can be stated that fusion does not in Africa produce instances of dual organisation, whatever it may do elsewhere. In other words, Rivers' theory of the origin of dual organisation does not hold good for Africa.

Could a man of such mental calibre and ability as Rivers was, be mistaken on so important a point? Let us go over the ground again. My fieldwork among the Umundri Ibo decribes how an invader fusing with an indigenous, non-cultured people did produce instances of dual organisation; but there were also two instances where the leading towns did not show any dualism, so that fusion even under the very best conditions in Africa, does not always produce a dual organisation.

Nevertheless Rivers was right in the main and something has gone wrong with the argument. In the four possibilities considered above, the assumption was made that neither the invader nor the invaded possessed a dual organisation complex at the start. Fusion was to produce the dual organisation, but it does not do so in Africa.

If on the other hand the invader starts with a dual organisation complex, then for Africa, what Rivers says and describes holds good. Rivers' theory of fusion is true for Africa, if we assume that the dual organisation complex exists as part of the social structure of the invader. But this theory is the one first advanced by Dr. W. J. Perry, thus: "In all the settlements, certainly those with ruling groups, the rulers imposed their characteristics on their followers. In most cases it seems certain that whole communities, with all grades of societies, migrated from one home to another, and incorporated the Native population among the lower orders; so that social and political institutions would be transplanted by a perfectly natural and continuous process."[86]

The next point to consider is, can Africa throw light on the origin of the dual organisation? Britain's great proconsul of the Bights, Sir Richard Burton, gave a clear description of dual organisation among the Dahomians. "One of the Dahomian monarch's peculiarities is that the is double; not merely binonymous, nor dual, like the spiritual Mikado and the temporal Tycoon of Japan, but two in one. Gelele, for instance, is king of the city, Addokpon of the bush: that is to say, of the farming folk and the country as opposed to the city. So the late Gezo's *alter ego* was Gakpme. This country ruler has his official mother, the Dauh-li-ke; his Min-gan or chief executioner, the Wimekho: and his Meu, or master of ceremonies; the Ewesu, father of the Whydah Yevo-gan. His palace is at Akpwe-ho, a village on the road to Aja, about six miles to the south-west of Agbone. . . . . Thus Dahomey has two points of interest to the ethnologist—the distinct precedence of women and the double king. . ."[87]

It will be recollected that previous evidence of dualism in Dahomey has already been presented, namely that not only was the whole nation divided into two moieties but that all the offices of state were dual. With this description of the duality of the kingdom of Dahomy must be compared that from another part of Africa easily accessible on foot from Dahomy. "Their country (Egypt) consisted of two parts, and their kingship was dual."[88]

"The constitution of Egypt in dynastic times was thoroughly dual. The country was originally divided into two distinct parts, Upper Egypt in the South and lower Egypt in the North: that is the delta of the Nile. At the beginning of the first dynasty the country was united under one throne and ever since it has remained united, but it was never forgotten that the king was the ruler of a dual country. His crown was double, his coronation ceremony was double, even his palace was double. In an inscription on the Palermo stone, which has revealed such important evidence for the early chronology of Egypt, it is said, 'Exalted is the White-crown-of-Snefru-upon-the-Southern-Gate. Exalted is the Red-crown-of-Snefru-upon-the-Northern-Gate.'

Professor Breasted comments:—'These are the names of the two gates or parts of the palace of Snefru: one for the South and one for the North. We thus have the double palace, which like the organs of Government, was double, to correspond with the old kingdoms of South and North. . . . . The state temples were also double; each had a double facade, and the hypostylé was divided into

north and south by the central aisle. Kings were usually called 'Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt .... Favourite of the two Godesses.' Then again there are inscriptions on the Palermo stone of the type

'King Neferirkere.
Horus. . . King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Favourite of the Two Godesses (Upper and Lower Egypt respectively)
Year I
Second month, seventh day.
Birth of the Gods.
Union of the Two Lands.
Circuit of the Wall.

which reveal the persistence of the idea of duality of the kingdom. As King of Upper and Lower Egypt the king personated Set, the God of Upper Egypt, and Horus, the God of Lower Egypt. He sometimes had a double name. For example, Khasekhmoui of the third Dynasty was called Horus-Set, as is shown by numerous cylinders found at Abydos and Hiraconpolis. He is called 'Khasekhmoui, the Wielder of the Two Sceptres, 'Khasekhmoui in whom are united the two divinities'. Archaic inscriptions dating from the times prior to the fifth dynasty, refer to 'daily purifications of the king of South and North, Double Lord Nauterni.' The king even sometimes had two tombs, one in either land. His treasury was double. Apparently the office of high-priest was sometimes dual; for the high-priesthoods of Memphis and Heliopolis, the encumbents of which were called 'Great Chief of Artificers' and 'Great of Seeing,' respectively, were usually two in number, and were of course, held by men of high rank. Egypt is the only country where conditions remained approximately unchanged until the end. So, if other communities possessed the dual organisation, it will probably have fallen into ruins as the result of the coming of the more warlike communities."[89]

Thus in Egypt are found two sets of the terms used in Africa for distinguishing the two moieties of a community with a dual organisation, namely "Upper" and "Lower" as well as "North" and "South." The fact that the term "Upper" in the African dualism always takes precedence can also be traced to Egypt. "Upper Egypt always had precedence over Lower Egypt."[90]

In Africa the army is often divided into two groups, a condition found earlier still in ancient Egypt. "The active army (in the time of the XVIIIth. Dynasty) was divided into two main classes (Sa): one for Upper Egypt and one for Lower."[91]

The Descriptions of the duality of the social structure in Ancient Egypt and in Dahomey are so similar that only four solution to the occurence of these concurrent traits are possible, namely:

(a) that each area invented and developed its ideas independently of the other:
(b) that Egypt borrowed from Dahomey:
(c) that both borrowed from a now undiscoverable source:
(d) that Dahomey borrowed from Egypt.

Against (a) may be set the argument that if the chance of any cultural element "existing in any community be one in two, then the chance of e.g. ten elements existing in that community will be one thousand and twenty four," and where there is a multiplicity of areas the chances that each area will hit on the same idea and develop it in the same way are very much greater. For the start or the inception of such an idea one must rely in the first instance on a chance of any one of these tribes chancing on the idea and then on another chance in the chance of their developing the idea on the same lines and for the same purpose as another tribe has done. It is all too chancey an explanation for the uniformity of the dual organisation found over so wide an area and embracing so many different tribes and languages. To date no evidence is available in support of (a). If tribes could thus independently evolve the ritual and the ceremonies that go with a dual organisation, they could also evolve the same language, but they do not.

No one advances an argument in support of (b), because there are too many facts to show that the drift, not only of culture, but also of peoples, was from East to West and not vice versa. The information on these migrations has been summarised by Lord Hailey, thus:—"Most of the available evidence, archeological and anthropologi-

cal indicates that successive waves of Hamites have invaded Africa from a cradle land in the vicinity of Southern Arabia or the Horn of Africa ; and the present distribution of Bushmen, Negro and Hamite characteristics whether separately or in combination, has been attributed to the effect of these invasions. . . . The various (Bantu) tribes appear to have reached their present homes in a series of migrations westwards and southwards which are believed to have been set in motion by the pressure of the Hamitic invasions. . . . The long-horned cattle of the Bantu are not found among any West African tribes, a fact which is taken as showing that the Negroes were untouched by Hamitic influence."[92]

This deduction from the absence of long-horned cattle to the absence of Hamitic influence is fallacious. Long-horned cattle have no resistance to tse-tse, the dwarf cattle have a resistance and so are found right through the tse-tse belts. Also this deduction clashes with another statement of Lord Hailey's, viz. :—" Mr. Elsdon Dew concludes that the Bantu are the most primitive black race now known, and that the Negroes are the result of a mixture of Bantu with other stock, such as the Egyptians."[93]

This conclusion is in accord with those of such authorities on the Negro as Dr. Talbot and Sir Harry Johnston who, though not necessarily subscribing to the statement of a mixture of blood, considered that there is ample evidence of Egyptian influence, i.e. that the migration of culture was, East to West.

Sir Wallis Budge, from his study of the present culture in the Sudan, developed a theory outlined in (c) above. He wrote :—" It seems to me impossible that the religious beliefs of the Sudani folk of today can be derived from the Egyptians or that they are survivals mysteriousy preserved for nearly two thousand years after Egypt passed out of the hands of the Native Kings. All the evidence available suggests that Sudani beliefs are identical with those of the Egyptians because the people who held them in Egypt were Africans, and those who now hold them in the Sudan are Africans."[94]

If this unverified theory is accepted, then there is a diffusion of culture from somewhere, as yet unknown, in the Sudan into Egypt and also into Bantu Africa. This theory runs counter to the generally accepted trend of migrations in Africa and at the same time ignores such evidence as the following :—" The Wukari, Pindiga and Kona tradition appears to be that the Jukun came from the east. The Yemen in particular being sometimes mentioned, in company with the Kanuri, with whom they travelled (via Wadai) to Ngasrgomo, and former capital of Bornu. . . Another manuscript obtained by Mr. Palmer at Fika relates that descendants of the children of Tala Ul Alwal came out of the land of Yemen and established themselves at Ngasrgomo, the former capital of Bornu."[95]

Further west on the Bauchi plateau the same claims of an east to west migration are held :—" These tribes (in the Plateau Province) all have traditions of a Yemenite origin and it has been suggested that they belong to the Sudanic Kash group of people who were originally cognate to the Kas of the cataracts of the Nile—the ancient Nobatae—Nubians. Although this latter suggestion is still very speculative, it has been conclusively shown that the Angas language is one of a group of very ancient languages, all of which are interrelated to the same common stock and have affinities with the ancient Egyptian language."[96]

Thus, more than two thousand years after the ancient Egyptian language had ceased to be used, affinities with it in languages still spoken in Nigeria can be detected, yet no one suggests that these affinities have been mysteriously preserved. In the face of these facts, the detection to-day of affinities with ancient Egyptian culture, e.g. dual organisation in the Angas tribe, does not appear as an instance of mysterious preservation nor as impossible as Sir Wallis Budge contends

Much the same conclusion, that Africa borrowed from Egypt the origins of its culture, was reached by Sir Richard Palmer, but on scantier evidence. He, interested in the history of the lake Chad region, noted that words used by surrounding tribes for " God-names " were similar to Egyptian and Babylonian words. He discussed the possibility whether these African words

were the source whence Egypt and Babylon obtained their similar terms and dismissed the possibility thus :—" It is impossible that this African nomenclature was taken to Egypt and Asia. The inference, therefore, is that these terms came to Africa from Asia and Egypt, with the corollary that the European occupation of Africa is only the last of cultural occupations which have been pushing their way west and south for at least 5,000 years, occupations which came ultimately from Asia and which introduced to Africa the cosmic and religious conceptions from time to time current among the great nations of antiquity. Such literary evidence for this as exists in the Sudan is :—

" (a) the historical or quasi-historical records in Arabic as exist particularly in Bornu,

((b) a chronicle of the Kings of Kano also in Arabic."[97]

He also points out that the Jukun tradition fits the above inference. " There certainly exists a certain amount of evidence, particularly in the isolated villages of Attagara in the Mandara hills, to support the tradition of the Kwororafa (Jukon) themselves that, leaving the Nile valley about 600 A.D., they migrated by slow stages from the Djebel Kwon (Kordofan), through Magge (Fittri) and Balda and Fis in the Mandara region of the Gongola valley. Both they and the Bolewa of Fika and Gombe were probably branches of the Pabir (Berber) who according to Gamarga tradition came from the east and drove them out of the Mandara hills."[98]

In 1500 Leo Africanus reported continuous contact with Egypt so far as the area now represented by Northern Nigeria is concerned. " I myself saw fifteen kingdoms of the Negroes. . . . Their names therefore (beginning from the West and so proceeding Eastward and Southward) are the following ; Gualata, Ghinea, Melli, Timbuto, Gago, Guber, Agadey, Cano, Cafena, Zegzeg, Guangara, Borno, Gaogo, Nube. These fifteen kingdoms are for the most part situated upon the river Niger, through which merchants usually travel from Gulata to the city of Alcair (Cairo) in Egypt."[99]

The views of Professor Seligman who worked in the Sudan are of value in this connection. " But Egyptian culture did not reach the Sudan in a continuous, steadily flowing stream. There is evidence, though we cannot examine it here, that suggests maxima and minima of Egyptian influence. One maximum was relatively early, possibly of pyramid age or perhaps of the Old Kingdom . . . . Further evidence for the transmission of beliefs and practices is presented by the ideas concerning Soba, by the *nametere* of the Lutoko, and more immediately convincing than these, the production by the Nilotes by artificial means of deformations in the horns of their cattle, identical with those pictured in tombs of Pyramid age at Saqqara dating to some 2,700 B.C. . . . . The fact that up to and including the Pyramid age, Negroes are almost entirely absent from Egyptian representational art can but indicate that the spread was from Egypt up the Nile, and not in the reverse direction."[100]

I shall now close by presenting Sir Wallis Budge's argument in his own form but applied to known facts, as against his unknown conditions, so that tests may be applied as to its probable correctness. His argument, in almost his own words, will be applied to the diffusion of Mohammedan culture. " All the evidence available suggests that Mohammedan beliefs in the Sudan are identical with those of the present Egyptians, because the people who hold them in Egypt are Africans and those who hold them in the Sudan are Africans." But it is known that in the valley of the Benue, Mohammedanism entered from the east. It is also known that Mohammedanism spread into the valley of the Niger from the North and in both cases it is known that the focus was Mecca. To accept Sir Wallis Bugde's argument would lead to the conclusion that Mecca, like Egypt, received its culture from the Sudan. In other words, no one disputes the routes into Africa followed by Mohammedanism nor of Yemenite influence ; but that other and earlier cultures could have diffused along the same routes is denied by many. This denial can be rebutted by considering what would be the position of Mohammedan culture in Nigeria if it were completely cut offf from Egypt.

The Mohammedan cultural elements found today in Hausaland and in Egypt are :—

(1) a similarity of beliefs,

(2) a tradition of strangers arriving with these beliefs,

(3) a tradition of an easterly origin for these strangers.

Nos. (1), (2) and (3) are true for both areas. If, shortly after Mohammedanism had reached Nigeria, a terrestial cataclysm occurred, such as the appearance of a great rift valley which, by letting in the ocean, created a sea cutting off Hausaland from Egypt, such a cataclysm would not invalidate the truths of Nos. (1), (2) and (3) above, for Hausaland. Yet to-day because there is, for example, a cultural, instead of a geophysical, gap between Nigeria and ancient Egypt, Nigerian cultures which exhibit similar cultural elements with those of ancient Egypt, such as dual organisation, are not regarded as derived from those of ancient Egypt. The affinities of culture in the two areas are regarded as having derived from some unknown Sudanic source and also to have diffused to where they are found in Africa today.

Why not reject the unknown and abide by the known ? Diffusion from Egypt as an explanation is a sufficient and cogent answer.

This answer brings me to the consideration of (d), the origin of the culture found in Dahomey, i.e. that Dahomey and the others (including Bantu Africa) acquired its culture from Egypt. I prefer this explanation on the grounds of simplicity and also because it agrees with many other known facts, some of which have been mentioned in this article. The principle of founding settlements divided into two moieties, distinguished by the cultural terms " Upper " and " Lower ", just as ancient Egypt was, agrees with the assertion of the priests of the Umndri Ibo who said :—" Thus did the ancients divide the towns ". This explanation also fits the fact that some ancient Berber towns even today are divided into two parts likewise called " Upper " and " Lower ". Lybia lies contiguous with Egypt : continuous intercourse has existed between the two lands since time immemorial. Hence it is not strange to find evidence of Egyptian influence in Lybia. In fact no other explanation is possible to account for the similarities of culture in these two areas.

Lybia provides an instance of the direct diffusion of culture from Egypt. Once a culture has started to diffuse, is there anything to stop it from spreading ? If diffusion is admitted for Lybia, can it be denied for Nigeria ?

With the evidence presented for the Egyptian origin of dual organisation in Africa, and remembering that Egypt was also called the land of " the Two Colours ", some light can be thrown on an article that appeared in *Africa* on the Bajun Islands. " Let us now examine the word ' Bajun '. By way of parenthesis, it should be mentioned that it is applicable only to the inhabitants of the islands and not to the islands themselves, each of which, from the largest to the smallest, is known by its own individual name. In the *Khams* written many years before Christ, it is recorded that a people called Tei came out of the land of Sham (Sham—the country extending down the west side of the Red Sea, between it and Egypt) and settled at a place named ' Juwen ' in Egypt. The Husbah—a book of modern date compiled from ancient records and traditions—gives the following derivation ' Ba-father. Jun was the name of a chief of a town, whilst Juwen is the name of a village in the district of Nisibur in the land of Egypt.

" ' Jun, according to the same authority, means containing two colours, viz. white (or red) and black, or light and shade '. Now though ' Ba ' certainly means ' father ', it has also the supplementary meaning of ' children of ' or simply ' people of '. Thus the explanation of the word ' Bajun ' is nothing more than the people of the two colours ' or as one would say ' the mulattoes, the half castes '. This solution seems so simple and likely that it appears almost unnecessary to pursue the theory of a one time pure Bajun race any further, or to search for a link with a people from Egypt."[101]

The interpretation of the name Bajun as " mullattoes " is most unlikely. Miscegenation in the teritories controlled by ancient Egypt carried no stigma. Internal evidence is clear that the Bajun were migrants from ancient Egypt. The record,

Khams, refers to a people called " Tei " who came from a country between the Red Sea and Egypt, a territory that was part of ancient Egypt.

Now " Tei " is so similar to the Egyptian word " Taui " meaning, " Two Lands " that, in view of what follows, the two words appear to come from a common root. The article suggests that the derivation of the name " Bajun " is " Ba= children of " and " Jun=two colours ", but Egypt was also called " Land of Two Colours ", either Red and Black for the colours of the soils of the desert and the valley, or Red and White as the colours for the " Upper " and " Lower " kingdoms' It is thus clear that " Bajun " does not mean " Mulattoes " but Egyptians; people of the Two Lands; people of the Two Colours. Here is an instance of Dr. Perry's conclusion :—" In most cases it seems certain that whole communities " migrated from one home to another." The two moieties that formed the Bajun migrated together.

These remarks recall a quotation about the Yoruba tribe. There the votaries of Shango are described as wearing Red and White beads on neck and wrists, but these are also the two colours of " Upper " and " Lower " Egypt. " Then he (the Pharaoh) rose, wearing the White Crown as ' King of the South ' . . . The same ceremony was performed on another throne for the ' Rising of the King of the North ', wearing the Red Crown Crown ' ".[102]

In addition, the votaries carry a sacred staff or sceptre on which are carved two heads, back to back. One may see therein a symbolical representation of the two kingdoms of ancient Egypt. Moreover the Yoruba nation exhibits a high degree of dualism throughout its social structure. Most of the offices of state go in pairs, as they did in ancient Egypt, so the use of the sacred colours, Red and White, cannot now be dismissed as a coincidence, but is rather corroborative evidence of the Egyptian origin of Yoruba culture. The Janus-headed staff recalls the position adopted by the chiefs (kings) of Kabwir and of Amper when they met to hold a council of war : they sat back to back.

Conclusion.

I have shown that, with the exception of the Egyptians, none of the African tribes that exhibits dual organisation was responsible for its origin, and in conclusion " the fewer the assumptions made in the phenomenon explained, the more likely is the explanation to be a true one ", applies here. The acceptance of the spread of ancient Egyptian culture or that of the Archaic Civilization over Africa calls for no more mental reservation than it does to accept the diffusion of Mohammedan culture. This acceptance of Egyptian influence will then satisfactorily account in African tribes for the following items which have been noticed in studying the terms used for the two moities in a dual organisation, viz :—

(1) the presence of the dual organisation,
(2) the use of the terms " Upper " and " Lower or " North " and " South ", or " Left " and " Right " for the two moities,
(3) the absence in most of the tribes with dual organisation, and the presence in a few, of exogamous units,
(4) the functioning of the dual organisation in religious ceremonies,
(5) the division of the army into two wings,
(6) the use of Red and White, or of Red and Black, as sacred colours,
(7) the occurence in pairs of offices of state,
(8) hostility between the moieties,
(9) and possibly the Janus complex.

There are many other items linked with this African dual organisation, such as divine kings, a sun-cult, etc. The above conclusion fits perfectly that of Dr. W. J. Perry's viz. :—" It is impossible to judge of the origin of any cultural element by itself; it must be put into its setting. So, when thinking of the origin of the dual organisation, account must be taken of the fact that it was simply the social side of a civilisation extending right across the world, and comprising many cultural elements. It is impossible in America, Oceania, Indonesia, or India to point to any facts indicating that the Archaic Civilization had its origin there. The only place where signs of the origin of this civilization exist, is Egypt, and more than that, Egypt of the Pyramid Age."[103]

Dr. Perry's theory of the origin and spread of the dual organisation is trenchantly supported by the African evidence, namely that the Dual Organisation in Africa is of Egyptian origin. The African evidence makes his theory for the occurence of the dual organisation in Melanesia vis-a-vis that of Dr. Rivers', the more acceptable, because Dr. Rivers' theory does not hold for Africa whereas that of Dr. Perry's holds for both.

(As already mentioned, the tabulation of the evidence in this article on page 37 shows many gaps. I would gratefullly appreciate any assistance in filling the gaps and communications addressed to African Studies will reach me.)

REEFERENCES

54. Temple, O. and C. L. Notes on the tribes, provinces, states and emirates of the provinces of Northern Nigeria. p. 122. Lagos. 1922.
55. Johnson, O. History of the Yoruba, p. 132. London. 1921.
56. Temple, O. and C. L. Notes on the tribes, provinces, states, and emirates of the Northern Provinces of Northern Nigeria. p. 378. Lagos. 1922.
57. Man. No. 33. Vol. IV. 1904.
58. Hawkesworth, E. G. Unpub. Govt. Mss. Report on the Irrua people of the Ishan Div. Benin. Prov. 22. 9. 31.
59. Shaw, F. L. A Tropical Dependency, p. 145. London 1905.
60. Thomas, N. C. Anthropological Report on Sierra-Leone. Part I. p. 25-26.
61. Meek, C. K. Journal of the African Society Vol. XXVII. No. CVII. April. 1928.
62. Temple, O. and C. L. Notes on the tribes, provinces, states and emirates of the Northern Provinces of Northern Nigeria. p. 25. Lagos. 1922.
63. Turnbull, P. Sahara Unveiled. p. 25. London. 1940.
64. Westermark. E. Ritual and Belief in Morocco. Vol. II. p. 72. London. 1926.
65. Westermark, E. ditto. Vol. I p. 178.
66. Driberg, J. H. The Lango, p. 244. London 1923.
67. ,, ditto. p. 254.
68. ,, ditto. p. 106.
69. Hobley, C. W. The A-Kamba and other East African Tribes, p. 120-121. Cambridge. 1910.
70. Hobley, C. W. ditto. p. 119, 120, 122.
71. Hollis, A. C. The Nandi. p. XVIII. Oxford. 1909.
72. Seligman, C. G. and B. Z. The Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. p. 375. London 1932.
73. Seligman, C. G. and B. Z. ditto. p. 274.
74. Krapf, D. L. and Rebmann. Nika-English Dictionary. (See article on Wom Koma).
75. Seligman, C. G. and B. Z. The Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. p. 246. London 1932.
76. Seligman, C. G. and B. Z. ditt. p. 331. 207.
77. Barth, Dr. Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa. p. 99, 100, 148, Vol. I. London. 1867.
78. Budge, E. A. Wallis. The Mummy, p. 2. London. 1925.
79. Budge, E. A. Wallis. Vocabulary to the book of the Dead. London 1911.
80. Budge, E. A. Wallis. The Mummy, p. 2. London. 1925.
81. Ingham, E. G. Sierra Leone, p. 269-270 London, 1894.
82. Encyclopedia Brittanica. Vol. 8. p. 170. 14th. Edition.
83. Meek, C. K. Law and Authority in a Nigerian Tribe. p. 93-94. Oxford. 1937.
84. Schapera, I. Encyclopedia Brittanica. Vol. 7. p. 696. 14th Edition.
85. Rivers, W. H. R. Social Organisation, p. 205-206. London 1926.
86. Rivers, W. H. R. ditto. p. 215.
87. Burton, R. F. A Mission to the King of Dahomey. Vol. II. p. 87. London. 1864.
88. Budge, A. E. Wallis. Amulets and Superstitions, p. 429 London 1930.
89. Perry, W. J. The Children of the Sun, p. 272-273. London. 1927.
90. Encyclopedia Brittanica. Vol. 8. p. 70 14th Edition.

91. Moret, A. The Nile and Egyptian Civilisation, p. 300. London 1927.
92. Hailey, Lord. African Survey, p. 20, 22, 26. London 1939.
93. Hailey, Lord. Ditto p. 35.
94. Budge, A. E. Wallis. Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection. Vol. I. p. 361. London.
95. Meek, C. K. A Sudanese Kingdom, p. 23-24. London 1931.
96. Ames, C. G. Gazetteer of the Plateau Province, p. 23. Jos, Nigeria. 1934.
97. Palmer, H. R. Mai Idris of Bornu 1571-1583. p. 104 Lagos 1926.
98. Palmer, H. R. ditto. p. 72, 73.
99. Pory, J. Leo Africanus, Vol, I. p. 128. Hakluyt Society. London. 1896.
100. Seligman, C. G. and B. Z. The Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, p. 36. London 1932.
101. Elliot, J. A. G. Journal of the African Society, Vol. XXV. No. XCVIII. Jan. 1926.
102. Moret, A. The Nile and Egyptian Civilisation, p. 124. London. 1927.
103. Perry, W. J. Social Organisation (by W. H. R. Rivers). p. 211. London. 1927.

THE SWAZI REACTION TO MISSIONS

By HILDA KUPER[1]

The first missionaries came to Swaziland towards the end of the nineteenth Century, and by 1936, twenty-three different churches were known to the administration. Despite variation of doctrine, every missionary aimed at changing Swazi beliefs in the ancestors for a belief in Christ, and bringing about social conditions which they as missionaries associated with Christianity. The ethical aspect of Christianity receives expression in particular cultural features, such as monogamy. The missionary does not only introduce a credo and code of behaviour, but social services—schools hospitals and recreation facilities. The success of missions, measured by the number of converts, cannot moreover be separated from the existence of additional centres of European influence, such as schools and shops, nor from the traditional culture against which these influences operate. The number of converts is a superficial index of the extent to which the new religion is absorbed: the depth of their conversion cannot be measured, though it can to some extent be observed from behaviour in crises such as illness or accident.

1. MISSIONARIES AND THE ADMINISTRATION

The influence of missions depends to a considerable extent on the powers and assistance granted by the administration. The cleavage between Church and State found in Great Britain is less obvious in British colonies where social services are largely controlled by missions, subsidised by the State.

Religious organisations are among the few imports on which there is no protective tariff. Missionaries came to Swaziland from many countries—England, America, Italy, Scandinavia, Austria, Germany and the Union of South Africa. They brought with them local as well as doctrinal differences, and established themselves side by side with centres of the traditional ancestral cult.

[1] The material in this article was collected under a Fellowship from the International African Institute during the year 1934-1937.

While the crusading spirit is absent from government officials, who do not force Christianity on the Swazi nor strive directly at conversion, they indirectly exercise a proselytising influence. The administration which they serve is the organ of a "Christian" country and a number of its laws, more especially those dealing with marriage and the family, regulate behaviour in accordance with "Christian" ethics. The officials inevitably have an egocentric evaluation of their own religious beliefs and practises.

Missionaries moreover receive economic assistance from the administration for education and health work, two of the main channels of conversion. By virtue of these subsidies, government is to some extent relieved of the burden of social services, and incidentally helps maintain towards them a religious rather than a scientific attitude.

Despite co-operation between the administration and the missionaries, there is often opposition and distinction in methods and aims. The administration works essentially through the recognised traditional leaders, and is more concerned with the maintenance of law and order than with changing the spiritual outlook of the Natives. It is bound by Proclamation to recognise Native customs except in so far as they may be incompatible with law and order or "clearly injurious to the welfare of the said Natives." *Lobolo*, polygamy, the levirate and most traditional rituals are thereby permitted even if not encouraged The missions on the other hand work through individual converts, drawn from any strata of society, and judge customs by twentieth century Christianity interpreted in various churches.

Obviously the final control over mission effort lies with the administration, which can intervene in any dispute with the Natives over matters of control and discipline; and it can penalise any missionary whose gospel induces violence or disloyalty to the state. A mission may acquire land in Native Area with the permission of the

administration in consultation with the Paramount Chief and local chief, the area granted being limited to five acres. But because the administration has been backward, for economic and other reasons, in developing social services, the missions have gained a fairly strong hold in the country.

2. MISSIONARIES AND CHIEFS

The Anglican Church, represented by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts received from the King Mbandzeni a fertile strip of land not far from his royal village. The pioneer missionary, Mr. Jackson, was in close touch with the Swazi rulers and was appointed by them to the Committee of Europeans which dealt for a few years (1888-1890) with all matters affecting Europeans in the country.

Despite close and friendly co-operation with various individual missionaries, Swazi rulers have not been converted to Christianity. Missionaries made strenuous efforts, aware that in other African tribes conversion of the hereditary leaders results in mass conversion of the subjects. In Gwamile's time eleven European sects and three Native sects competed for royal favour,[1] and by 1936 double that number were practising in the country.

Queen Mothers were, and are, more willing than their sons to adopt the new religion. Gwamile was intensely interested, but suspicious. Lomawa wished to be baptised and made special preparations for the event, at which the Bishop of Zululand was himself going to officiate. But at the last hour, the Swazi National Council gave her the choice of becoming a Christian or remaining the *Indlovukati*, and she cancelled the baptismal date. She retained however an active interest in the church, and when she died the Roman Catholic Father who lived nearby baptised her *sub-conditione*. Nukwase, her sister was already a convert when, on Lomawa's death, she was appointed *Indlovukati*, and it was made clear that her position would only be secure if she did not allow her personal beliefs to interfere with her national obligations.

Male rulers have shown and show less active interest in the Christian religion. Mbandzeni regarded a few of the missionaries as friends, and allies in his dealings with lawless European pioneers; Bunu was uninterested; Sobhuza gives all sects a courteous hearing and follows none of them.

It is hard to gain an insight into so subjective a reaction as an avowed change of faith, or to know what situations, fears and hopes operate in each case. In the same family one child may be an orthodox pagan fighting for the old worship, while another child preaches submission to a new God. But while the road to conversion is ultimately built with the material of individual peculiarities, it is laid along channels grooved by social elements.

Conversion strikes deeply at the vested interests of both the male and the female ruler. The power and prestige of the King is linked with his status as a polygamist; the position of the Queen Mother depends on her rank in the harem. A change from polygamy to monogamy would weaken the political structure. The King's sons could no longer extend the control of the royal house throughout the nation; his daughters would be too few to link effectively various non-related chiefs to the ruling family. By unlimited polygamy the prestige of the king is enchanced above that of his most powerful conservative subjects. Moreover, the ritual of kingship demands at least two ritual queens apart from his main wife. Again, the king's ancestors are the ancestors of the nation and he is the priest of the nation. The ancestors of the queen mother are relatively unimportant and are appealed to by her own male kinsmen. The king, as administrative head of the nation, is in closer touch with the men and not only sets the fashion for them but is guided by them and because of the higher status of men throughout the society, they resist the appeal of the missions more than their women.[1]

[1] Watts, C. C., *Dawn in Swaziland*. S.P.G. 1922 page 41.

[1] In some Bantu tribes the chief became a Christian in face of opposition from a section of his people. The different reactions of the chiefs must be sought in difference in tribal structure—the relationship between chief and council, ritualisation of the king, extent of polygamy, government policy towards missions and in temperamental differences.

In the case of Sobhuza, he is sceptical of the benefits of the missionaries, and like many educated Africans notices a discrepancy between the Word and its application to situations in which Black and White are involved.

Most of the royal children are sent to the National schools rather than to mission schools. The national schools, however, are in an anomallous position : the Swazi consider that the schools belong to them and should be primarily controlled by them, while the administration is not prepared to permit any independence from the education department. The status of the schools has in fact been made a political issue, the complicated details of which are irrelevant here. The teaching in the national schools is without the bias to conversion inevitable in mission schools.

While the Swazi rulers support national rather than mission schools, they use mission as well as government hospitals. Selection of a particular hospital is determined by various factors—proximity, sex of doctor, religious discipline in the hospital, personal reaction of the invalid to the doctors. Proximity is not the main factor even in emergencies: Lozita, Sobhuza's village, is nearest the Nazarene hospital in Bremersdorp, but many a case from Lozita is sent all the way to the government hospital at Mbabane or the Berlin Lutheran Hospital,[1] which is a little further The doctor of the Berlin Lutheran was a woman, and a very sympathetic and capable woman, and for some time Sobhuza sent most of his wives to her. There was also greater freedom at the Mbabane centres, and less irksome rules.

Apart from contact with missions through schools and hospitals, the people are drawn into church through services held in their villages. This was particularly noticeable at the capital where scarcely a day passed without a "prayer meeting" by one sect or another. The missions which have the greatest number of converts at royal villages are stationed close enough to hold services fairly frequently, but again there is no exact correlation between proximity and influence. A Roman Catholic mission lies within a few hundred yards of Loßamba, but until a few years ago, exercised practically no influence for conversion on the royal family.

But even if great personal friendliness is established, it does not follow that conversion is in sight. Each missionary represents a particular doctrine and code of behaviour; whether a Swazi becomes a Catholic, Wesleyan, Lutheran or anything else depends partly on the restrictions which each imposes. To give but one example, N.T. was considering conversion, but was not sure whether to join the Catholics, the A.M.E., Nazarenes, or Wesleyans. Preachers of all these faiths were his friends, and the multiplicity of churches did not make him doubt the value of any. "Lots of paths lead to the same village", he explained to me, "for the village of God is the capital. But some paths are long and others short, and you must choose where to build. The people of the high veld do not thrive in bush country. I want a church that suits me. Everyone must choose for himself, and God hears all the voices, but you must not be out of tune with those with whom you are singing. You must be friends with your neighbours. You must follow the same path and then you will reach the capital. And other will reach it by their own paths and at the capital you will greet each other."

The relationship of local chiefs and missionaries is similar to that of the king. I know of only two chiefs who are full church members; one is a leader of the All-African A.M.E. (African Methodist Episcopal) church, and the other started his own church. Most other chiefs tolerate the various churches, but are not converts. Conversion would disturb their traditional rights. They react against the doctrine of equality; they fail to see "evils" of polygamy and extol its benefits; they represent the conservative among their subjects and follow, as well as influence the king.

Many mothers and wives of chiefs are full church members, and the children attend mission schools in the neighbourhood. Some of the children are baptised. But as they grow older, the sons usually follow in their fathers' (the aristocrats') footsteps, and the power of tradition and

[1] This hospital was closed soon after the beginning of the War.

the prestige of polygamy override the tenets of the church. The women are permitted in most churches in Swaziland to continue as full church members even though they marry polygamists.

The missionaries exercise their sway mainly over the commoners, the subjects. In the years of internecine warfare, missions were recognised as sanctuaries for men condemned to death and escaping from the king's punitive regiments. One of Mbandzeni's own sons fled to the Anglican church near the Usutu on one occasion and was hidden by the missionary under the rafters of his house while an armed impi searched for him.[1]

Chiefs often resent the way the missions detract from their authority. Converts take to their missionaries cases which they would otherwise have brought before their chief—domestic disputes, arranged marriages, cases of adultery, slander accusations of sorcery. When mission courts sit in judgement, they often apply a code different from that of the chief, or even the civil administration.[2]

Furthermore many church members give tribute in labour, kind and cash to the missionaries, and chiefs consider themslves relegated to second place. When Christians perform service for the traditional rulers, they work in separate groups from the pagans and usually receive different rewards. Many churches prohibit the drinking of beer—the customary reward for work parties—and Christian workers receive instead other food or goods. There is a growing tendency in work parties organised by Christians to give individual payment—candles, matches, soap, money—and pagan Swazi often attribute the emphasis on thrift and mercenary interests to mission influence. They contrast this with the traditional emphasis on generosity in giving, the main virtue of a chief.

[1] Watts, C. C., do page 98.

[2] Thus the following situation is fairly common. A young Christian woman on the death of her husband is expected to cohabit with his brother, and appeals to the missionary for protection. Members of the man's family are afraid to force her, but ask for their cattle. Her brother is a pagan and refuses. The chief's court agrees with him. The administration refuses to interfere in a matter of Native custom.

3. THE MASSES AND CONVERSION

105,472 Swazi (68.81% of the total population) were classified in the 1936 census as " Heathens". The following table indicates the religious affiliations of European and Natives.

	Europeans	*Natives*
Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk	1,427	20
Gerformeerde Kerk	247	0
Hervormde Kerk	34	2
Anglican	475	4,298
Methodist	73	7,986
Lutheran	56	1,943
Roman Catholic	148	4,158
Baptist	9	636
Seventh Day Adventist	0	5,541
Native Separatist churches	0	20,191
Object to stating religion	271	9
Other Christian	260	869
Other Non Christian	0	18
Unknown and unspecified	20	2,127
Heathen	0	105,472
	3,011	153,270

It can be seen from the table that the church which claims the maximum number of European adherents scarcely extends to the Swazi. It does not do any missionary work in Swaziland; elsewhere in South Africa, it is very powerful despite the fact that some of its leading men apparently define brotherhood largely on a colour basis in the explicit slogan, " No equality in Church or State". Other churches compete for Native converts and brotherhood is rather exclusively confined to members of either the Protestant or Catholic faith.

Swazi regard certain features as distinctive of Christians (*Emakholwa:* literally Believers) in opposition to Pagans (whom Christian label as *Emaqaba* or *Emaheden*—Heathens). The main characteristics attributed by the Swazi to orthodox Christianity are: belief in one God who is in heaven and sees all things on earth; belief in Christ; acceptance of the Book (the Bible), which as one preacher explained " passes you into Christianity; a different sex code, more especially premarital chasistity, and monogamy; many rituals such a

baptism, which was described as " writing the name in Holy Water so that you will be read in heaven ; " promise of eternal life.

The Christian faith overlaps at certain points with the ancestral cult. No Swazi will deny the existence of God, translated *Unkulunkulu*, but regard him as a remote First Ancestor. Pagan Swazi also believe in a soul which survives death, and in supernatural spirits, and these provide further avenues by which Christianity gains credence.

But fundamentally Christianity expresses a different ethics from the ancestral cult. The ancestors are treated as human beings with human emotions, while God is described as a Divine Power ; pagans interpret the ancestral wishes in terms of the immediate present, Christians are comforted with promises of future rewards. The ancestors are interested primarily in their own kinsmen, while God is claimed as the God of all humanity. The Oneness-of-man-in-God is challenged however by the diversity of creeds and churches.

Swazi often comment on the differences between churches in their attitude to Native customs, a distinction which is most marked between Catholics and Protestants. Thus Catholics permit drinking of beer, wearing of Native clothing, the taking of snuff ; Wesleyans prohibit these things. Again, Catholics baptise a polygamist if he discards all wives but one, and allows him to choose his favourite wife as " church wife ; " Wesleyans insist that his first wife be thus privileged. Swazi also point out that churches have on occasion changed their initial stand on specific customs, such as *lobola* and treatment of wives. Swazi react mainly to the churches' attitudes to daily activities and rituals in the lives of individuals ; doctrinal differences pass the average Swazi by, for to him religion is a mode of behaviour and uncritical belief rather than a matter of subtle theological analysis.

Conversion depends on three major sets of factors : firstly the missions and all they involve in the way of organisation, dogma, ritual and associated European activities ; secondly, the traditional social structure and culture on which the missions operate ; thirdly, an emotional or spiritual influence.

Every church has its hierarchy of officials ; thus among the Wesleyans the *umfundisi* (minister) is at the head, then comes the *umvangeli* (evangelist) who in the absence of the minister holds the service and is permitted to give Communion and other benefits not permitted his subordinate, the *umshumayeli* (lay peacher). The *umshumayeli* is in turn a step higher than the *umncedzisi* (assistant). All these offices are held by men ; for women there is but one post of honour, that of *umkokeli* (deaconess). Each servant of the church has defined duties and the upper members receive a remuneration graded according to status. In addition there is a council of church elders who discuss activities and may act as a court in certain instances,. In theory all posts are open to Natives but the *umfundisi* is usually a European.

Knowledge of, and interest in, church activities are wide spread. Every memberfof the hierarchy is a recognised propagandist for the faith. Preachers and evangelists in particular wander round to the homesteads and hold services. Pagan as well as converted are present at church rituals for baptism, marriage and death ; they participate as best they can in the singing and enjoy themselves if there is feasting. Response to church services varies from curiosity to fear. One day when a service was being held at the Queen Mother's Court, a man who had returned after three years in the city said " Let us watch the bioscope." Another pagan rebuked him, saying " God will make you see." Fear of the God of the Europeans undoubtedly exists in the heart of many Swazi, converted and unconverted. Some churches threaten hell fire, and cases were cited where dire misfortune followed " the words " of an irate missionary.

Missions develop at different rates. In recent years the Catholics extended more rapidly than any other European church : they only began work in 1914 and by 1936 claimed over 4,000 converts. This expansion can be attributed to a number of reasons. The Catholic Church is a wealthy organisation which could afford within a short time to build over thirty schools and churches

and to employ a staff of over 100 officers of both races. Not only is it well endowed, but it also makes a little money go a long way. The Catholics receive subsidies for schools on the same scale as other missionaries, but Catholic priests and nuns are not permitted to possess private wealth; all earnings are pooled and used for the benefit of Mother Church. Again, being celibates, personal expenses are at a minimum. Apart from the economic advantages inherent in the organisation, the Roman Catholics do not enforce as rigid a morality on the converts as do the Protestants. The Catholic code recognises human frailties and provides a confessional. Moreover, Catholics baptise members after a short period of trial and reclaim them if they stray. Protestants give them a long period of initiation, and excommunicate more readily. Protestants state that they concentrate on quality while the Romans are more interested in quantity. Furthermore the elaborate ritual of the Catholic Church exercises an appeal to emotions less satisfied by simple services. An ardent Swazi Catholic said enthusiastically, "I go into my Church and rejoice. We have too much (high praise) power. You can't see power like this anywhere else." The Catholics moreover are prepared to incorporate more of the traditional practices—"We graft the new on to the old; we do not destroy", explained one Father. The confessional itself is nothing new to the Swazi: it is similar to the custom of "cleansing the heart" when the diviners interpret that the ancestors are angered by a family feud.

Missionaries do not only provide a dogma, organisation and ritual, but control certain associated benefits. Teachers are sometimes preachers. Over 90% of the teachers are mission employees and each mission is eager to engage its own devotees. Breach of church discipline leads to expulsion from church-bestowed occupations. In Swaziland, few churches possess more than five acres of land, but domicile on church lands is for converts, and non-converted have been expelled despite hereditary title from two large stations. While most church men are prepared to pray at the sleeping mat of any sick Swazi, mission hospitals and dispensaries charge their own members less than other Natives. Some missions receive parcels of clothing from benevolent folk "at home", and distribute largesse to converts and potential converts. Food and money are also given on occasion. At a display at a small Catholic school, tremendous enthusaism was shown by all sections of the community when the venerable Father threw silver and coppers (amounting to over £3) to the children.

Economic benefits derived (primarily by converts) from the missions are offset by the demands of the church. Unfortunately, mission balance sheets are not published, and it is therefore impossible to know how much money is received in endowments, and how much from the converts. Swazi, converted and unconverted, insist that it is very expensive to be a convert. I often heard the remark: "The church is a business". One fairly sophisticated man philosophised: "If I haven't a penny, I haven't a God. If I have 10/- I am a Christian. If I have £10, I am an angel, and if I have £50, I am God himself. I go to church once a year, or once in some years, just as I like, and I look after my money." Most denominations impose subscriptions of 1/- per month, or 2/- to 2/6 per quarter, and in return give membership cards. No matter how impoverished converts are, they try to obtain the money. Some believe that these cards are "passes to heaven", and in any case cards should always be buried with their owners.[1] Weekly collections are taken, and though one need not contribute regularly, periodic donations of three pence or six pence are expected, especially after communion. Apart from regular expenditure, there are irregular disbursements: in some churches baptism costs from 1/- to 2/6; confirmation, up to 5/-; marriage at least 1/-; only burial is free.[2] Most mission-

[1] When the Queen Mother Lomawa was being buried, there was a sudden consternation—her "tickets" had been forgotten. A messenger was sent to fetch them. The remainder of the ceremony was mainly according to tradition.

[2] This is a big consideration. In the towns, burial is a heavy expense, minimised if one is a church member, but still costly. In Johannesburg, a burial with coffin, transport and a site in the cemetery costs £6/10/0. The few churches in Swaziland with their own cemeteries do not charge for the land.

aries receive gifts in kind, either in place of money or as a tribute. On the whole, the salaries of missionaries and their expenses are low, but membership of a church undoubtedly places an extra financial strain on a poor peasantry.

The missions draw different reactions from various sections of the people. Chief and commoner, men and women, adult and child are trained in specific status attitudes and duties, and look at gods as well as men with different desires and ambitions. Most converts are commoners; among them more women than men are active Christians; more children than adults attend church.

It is not surprising that individual commoners respond more readily than aristocrats: they can anticipate greater freedom and equality in the church than in the traditional milieu; they are less bound by traditional obligations and if necessary can move from the area of a hostile chief and can rely on the support of the missionary when in trouble.

It is necessary to distinguish between the pioneer converts, and the later members, and also between first and second generation Christians. In the early days, opposition from chief and kinsmén coupled with a background of unbroken conservatism made conversion a difficult decision. Missionaries often state that the first converts were very sincere, or they would not have been prepared to leave the security of their kin. Small colonies of Christians tended to develop under the protection of a mission station. Later, with the increasing influence of Europeans weakening the powers of chiefs, and the with loosening of kinship ties through migration to European employment, the new religion was more easily adopted. Christian members continued to live in pagan homesteads. Christianity came to be accepted by many as the way of least resistance to advancement in the changing culture.

The religion of the parents, more specially of the mother, influences the children. In a patrilineal society one might expect the father's religion to dominate, but this is not the case because of the closer bond between mother and child especially while the child is still young. Children of Christian parents usually profess Christianity. The church to which they belong depends partly on the school they attend and may be different from that of either parent. I found no rigid leaning to the mother's or father's church unless one parent was a Catholic when the child was usually sent to the Catholics. I came across no instance, nor could any be recalled, where the father was a Christian and the mother remained a pagan. In numerous cases the mother only is a Christian, and then the children tend to be Christians. The husband often displays little interest. The woman sends her offspring to school, often paying the fees out of money earned from the sale of beer or produce. A number of Swazi say they "are Christians", because their mothers are "believers". As children grow up the father becomes the symbol of power and authority and the boys sometimes abandon Christianity. When both parents are pagan, the mother may still send her child to a mission to have it baptised and taught. She may do this from avowedly utilitarian motives. Thus a woman herbalist who sent her child to church and to the associated school explained "That is the road that goes forward. Today money is in books. Let him earn from the priest. I am not going to church unless my child forces me." Cases are known, but are rare, in which children convert the parents, especially the mother.

More women than men become Christians in adult life. The 1936 Census gives the number of women converts as only 5.83% higher than men converts, but it is doubtful if these figures are accurate since in the first place the men who gave the figures often suppressed the fact that their wives were converts if they themselves were pagan and secondly more males than females revert to tribal customs but still call themselves Christians.

The higher correlation between women and Christianity is partly explicable by social forces, and partly by factors of individual psychology. Women in conservative Swazi society have a status inferior to that of men; all their lives they are minors; on marriage they become aliens in the patriarchal homesteads of their husbands, subjected to restrictions in behaviour and language

and to humiliations and jealousies associated with a polygamous society; they are excluded from active participation in the ancestral cult and their kin live in separate and often distant homesteads. Christianity gives to a woman a fuller participation in the domestic life, a standing in church affairs, a promise of an individual afterlife, and equality with other individuals irrespective of rank and sex. Swazi males often explain the receptivity of women to "the nature of women", "they follow without thinking for themselves", "they are more afraid than men." Such generalisations are part and parcel of the attitudes engendered in the patrilineal society.

I collected histories of twenty-five women and fifteen men converts. These I hope to publish separately. I studied family background, the circumstances that led to conversion, attitudes towards pagan customs and knowledge of Christian doctrine. An outstanding feature in the life history of women converts was the emphasis on "troubles" which the church eased. Some women stated specifically that they "joined through trouble". Some were widows who became converts on the death of their husbands; a few refused to accept the custom of the levirate and turned to the missionaries for protection; some entered the church after they or their children had recovered from serious illnesses during which they had been "prayed for" by Christians.

The majority of male converts are children of monogamists and the less important sons of polygamists. The main heir of a polygamist is unlikely to adopt Christianity. His position like that of the aristocrats depends largely on polygamy, while his responsibilities towards his kinsmen include sacrifices to the ancestors. Leading commoners and aristocrats receive prestige from those things that the church requires converts to renounce. But to the average man the traditional ideals are unattainable, and compensation is sought elsewhere. The Christian religion is one avenue at the present time of self expression; it is part of the dominant culture and one of the few possessions that is handed over voluntarily and gladly. The prestige of church membership has not however been fully accepted as a substitute by those who are frustrated in their own milieu; advantages are set off by disadvantages. Christianity does not give a complete entry to the dominant culture, and discrimination even within the church may lead to a rejection of Christianity.

Of course the process of conversion is not a conscious weighing of pros and cons: converts often stress that they "were shown by the heart" or "followed God through the heart" There seems however in view of the differential reaction to Christianity that among the important predisposing factors to conversion are the status disabilities which are not necessarily consciously perceived. The residue, the ultimate step to conversion, lies in individual psychology, the inner core of men and women.

Having once accepted Christianity there is an inevitable assumption of superiority. Many Christians are on intimate terms with pagans, but laugh at their customs and refuse to take part in many of their rituals and pleasures. A young Christian from Mahamba came to observe the *Incwala* one year and remarked loftily, "Fancy still dressing in skins and feathers. These people are quite uncivilised." Missionaries, especially in the early years, insisted that converts wear European dress, and the word for reverting to paganism is *kuhlubuka* (to remove the clothes.) When the late Queen Mother went to church, she religiously pulled a petticoat, two dresses and a festive kimono (a present from an enterprising European) over her skins. Round her head she tied a doek, on which she carefully replaced her crown of wooden pegs. However, it is now recognised that clothes no longer make a convert. Many pagan youths return from the city in lounge suits, and the gay girls of the township wear dresses and high heeled shoes. A convert remarked "It is terrible the way people dress without believing in God. They try to deceive us, and also to deceive God." Many churches have a particular uniform—a "holy dress" to distinguish their members from unbelievers.

In Swaziland however the cleavage between Christians and pagans is not as sharp as in some other parts of Africa. This is partly because of the strength of the national organisation, and

part'y because education is not identified with religon. Many Swazi aristocrats are educated but not converted, and many converts are uneducated. Pagan Swazi are fairly tolerant of the Christians but watch them critically and constantly ask " Where are they going ? "

4. NATIVE DISSIDENT CHURCHES

In 1936 Native Separatist Churches were supported by 20,191 Natives and the number is rapidly increasing. By 1940 officials estimated that adherents of these churches accounted for approximately 50% of the total number of Christians.

It is impossible to state exactly how many Separatist Churches exist in Swaziland at any one time. Some last many years, others a few months. Most are branches of Separatist Churches formed outside the Protectorate, and Swaziland merely reflects a process going on apace throughout South Africa. In 1939 some 550 Native Separatist Churches were listed by the Union Government ; others were not officially recognised. In Swaziland in 1936 I traced twenty-one sects, thirteen being different branches of the " Zionists."

The Separatist Churches vary enormously in organisation and doctrine. The A.M.E. dates from 1894 and by 1938 had 215 ordained non-European ministers, 279 churches or stations, a total community of 35,000[1] and progressive educational institutions. It is amalgamated with the A.M.E. in America and receives from there financial support and educational guidance. The dogma is basically similar to that of any other Methodist church. The Christian Catholic Church in Zion is also highly organised and well established. Founded in 1920, it employed by 1938 seventy-five full-time workers and ran a secondary school in Johannesburg. But from this " mother church " a number of sects hived off, and one of the thirteen existing in Swaziland consisted of a " Spiritual Head " and eight devotees. The services that I witnessed were startling orgies, though a Wesleyan Hymn Book was held aloft by the white-robed priest.[2]

[1] *Christian Handbook*, 1938. Page 134.

[2] I obviously do not intend this section as a full analysis of the Separatist Movement. I analyse it here only in so far as it indicates certain status conflicts.

Dissident sects are not unique in South Africa, nor are they of recent origin. But they have developed at a phenomenal rate since the first dissident church was formed in 1882. Some churches were introduced from America, most are of local origin. In Swaziland, as elsewhere, they have developed from Protestant and not Catholic churches. The Catholic Church itself is considered sacred, and to break from it involves damnation. A strong fissiparous tendency in Protestantism is evident from the history of the church.

But the rise of dissident churches in European history appears to be on different ground from the growth of the Native sects in Africa. Breaches in European countries resulted from differences in dogma and reinterpretations of social currents from a religious angle.[3] Separatism was to some extent initially checked by the bond of church and state and the development as society increased in complexity of other organisations and associations through which individuals and groups gained self expression. In Swaziland, Native sects do not separate on dogmatic differences. It is easy for them to separate for other reasons. They have the example of fissure in the existence of the numerous mission sects. Moreover, the growth of churches, European and Native, are not subject to any control while political organisations are limited by the powers of the administration and chiefs, and economic organisations are restricted by lack of experience and the primitive economic level of the semi-isolated peasant families. In religion alone, therefore, the European model may be imitated with safety and knowledge.

The fissiparous tendency is, finally, a characteristic of the traditional tribal structure. It was part of the clan structure until clan divisions were checked with the growth of a strong centralised and hereditary kingship ; thereafter it continued in the structure of the homestead and is evident

Certain aspects have been discussed by Rev. G. R. Norton " Emergence of New Religious Organisations in South Africa," *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol. XL. No. CLVII and No. CLVIII.

[3] See, for example, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, by R. H. Tawney.

in disputes over succession and the splitting of the kinship unit on the death of the patriarch. Further, the ancestral cult is pre-eminently a domestic religion, bounded by kingship affiliations and directed by the principle of seniority in the male line. An all inclusive religion of equality is a new concept, difficult to practise while kinship exclusiveness remains at the root of other activities.

The two major tendencies to division, the one inherent in the church and the other in the tribal organisation, are exaggerated by the contact situation. The great variety of dissident churches cannot all be explained by identical causes; to attempt to reduce them to a single cause is to ignore the growing heterogeneity of modern African life. The formation of the A.M.E. and of a dissident sect of Zionists express separate, albeit overlapping, trends, apparent as racialism and individualism.

The feature common to all dissident sects is their separation from European control. But the stress on the colour or segregation aspect varies considerably from one church to another. Not all dissident sects where formed in order to be separate from the Europeans: some separated from already separatist Native churches; nor is separatism used by all sects to secure a following; finally some members of European run mission express stronger antagonism and suspicion of Europeans than members of a few Native sects. Separatist and non-Separatist churchmen have mentioned a contradiction between the doctrine and practice of equality, the monopoly of the best positions by Europeans, and the way the money from the Natives support European missions. But in some cases no open break occurs because the "racial" disadvantages weigh less than certain social and economic advantages (such as education and medical facilities) plus the force of habit and an unwillingness to have an open conflict with the dominant "superior" Europeans.

The "race" factor, present to some extent in every dissident church, may be directed into two channels. On the one hand members of a dissident church may imitate European culture while rejecting European control, and on the other they may attempt to preserve and reinterpret Native customs sanctioned by the deities of the dominant group. Thus the A.M.E. is patterned on the European model, while the Church of the Sabbath and the Zionist sects incorporate much traditional ritual. No church remains untouched by the traditional cultures, but inevitably it affects the Native more than the European-controlled churches. When men are expelled from churches for polygamy or drunkenness and start their own sects, they justify their conduct by reference to tradition. They also tend to refer more to the Old than the New Testament because it recognises polygamy, dancing, the levirate and other familiar practices. Many of these were to be incorporated in a proposed "Swazi National Church", which was to have Sobhuza as the patron. The development of this church was hampered by disagreement on which customs were to be maintained and by disputes over leadership.

The question of leadership underlies the second major trend, individualism, in the formation of the dissident churches. In tribal society individualism is controlled, and the ideal of conservative mediocrity is inculcated by work and religion. This ideal is contradicted by the European culture which stresses individual ability in a competitive system. The Separatist Churches offer new opportunities for self display and power. Most of the founders are men of unusual personality; some are educated above the average; all are ambitious. The members too find scope for their self expression. Once a sect is established, they usually receive distinctive regalia and create colourful and exotic services. This reaches unsurpassed height in the Zionist churches but even in the more conventional churches such as the A.M.E. the services have a richness of local idiom not found in a European Methodist church. This type of self-expression is not condemned by the Administration nor is it in open conflict with the traditional authorities.

5. MISSIONARY AND MAGICIAN

In the conservative milieu, *tinyanga*, Swazi specialists in ritual, whom Europeans usually

label " magicians ", stand out conspicuously from the average personality type. These *tinyanga*, or specialists, are often the leaders in national enterprises. The herbalists are more travelled and self-assuming than laymen ; the diviners are more experienced in suffering and have a claim to visions.

Between *umfundisi* (missionary) and *inyanga* exists a common bond : though they often openly condemn and criticise each other's beliefs, some of these beliefs are rooted in an unrealised and unacknowledged similarity. Into the supernatural terrain of the *tinyanga* the missionary enters with his own Open Sesame. Both believe in a Power beyond man, a Power that can be tapped by prayer and ritual. There is little to distinguish the diviner's claim to achieve his ends through inspiration from ancestral spirits from the claim of Zionist " prophets " to possession by the Holy Ghost (*Umoya Oyincwele*). Nor can the average Swazi appreciate the fine distinction drawn by Catholics between obsession and possession, each state being provided for in a prescribed ritual. One Roman Catholic Father actually says that he is a better *inyanga* than any Swazi, and by means of a peculiar instrument divines illness, loss of property and the distribution of various metals !

Many *tinyanga* incorporate items of missionary teachings into their work and add an appeal to God or Jesus to their recital of ancestral guardian spirits. One famous diviner always included a garbled Latin prayer in his preliminaries.

Such acts are concessions to the " power " of the priests. Coupled with a respect for this power is resentment that the European churches condemn the ancestors as " things of the Devil ". Actually the attitude towards the ancestors again varies from one church to the next ; the Roman Catholics seem quite tolerant of them, while the head of the South Africa General Mission did " not like to hear them mentioned."

Missionaries and " magicians " act in similar situations. Birth, marriage, and death are points of intrusion for Christianity. The traditional ritual is incorporated to a greater or lesser extent according to the particular church in action.[1]

[1] This could be voluminously illustrated but for our purpose a few minor illustrations will suffice. Thus at a burial of a Dlamini child, the Roman Catholic Father who officiated buried it under a rock according to the custom of the royal clan. The mother donned a black cap, with a hole at the top similar to the way pagan women bind their buns in mourning. At the end of a month instead of eating medicines, and bringing the spirits back to the home, the bereaved parents held a " dinner."

The missionary also takes over much of the curative work that formerly fell to the herbalist and diviner. Apart from mission hospitals and dispensaries, there is the insistence on prayer. This is carried to the extreme by the Apostolic and Zionist churches which prohibit medicines, and sanction only the use of sanctified water, ash and clothing.

Missionaries do not only officiate at rituals affecting individual lives, but intervene on behalf of the nation. In 1936 when the King and his Mother were closeted in the ritual hut working the rain, the missionaries were praying for it in the churches. And again, when the new crops were made safe for the people in the annual ceremony, the *Incwala*, converts of many churches brought their first fruits to be blessed by the missionaries.

The co-existence of missionary and *inyanga* has led to a weakening of the ancestral cult, and of certain other traditional rituals. but has reinforced belief in supernatural power. To dismiss the ancestors as " things of the Devil " does not deny their existence. Substitution of a cross for an amulet of animal-skin indicates a transference in the Freudian sense.

Belief in witchcraft continues among all Christians whom I know. It continues to provide an explanation for dire misfortunes. Most, if not all, purely Native churches accept witchcraft without questioning, and aim in their treatment at " driving out Satan ". Moreover, Swazi attribute to some missionaries a dangerous power that the missionaries would never themselves assert. " X. . . can curse by a mere look." " Y.'s words always take effect. Never let him get angry with you." Cases were cited to prove these contentions !

The failure of a missionary's endeavours is less easy to disprove than failure by an *inyanga* because

the missionary's avowed aims are usually less mundane. He does not claim to end suffering, but preaches the acceptance of sorrows on earth. " Our Lord did not promise to remove suffering, for suffering is a divinely appointed discipline. He came to teach us how to suffer."[1] Preachers stress the temptations and difficulties of Christians and promise a reward in heaven to those who are strong enough to overcome them. But missionaries in Swaziland do not deny the value of earthly goods, and prayers for worldly benefits are frequent. This is inevitable since many of the economic ambitions were stimulated by the churches. They emphasised European clothing, attempted to raise the standard of living of the converted, and lauded thrift. At the same time poverty itself is divinely sanctioned, and Christ's abnegation of wealth is given as a counsel for those seeking perfection. The *inyanga* strives directly to achieve good crops, many cattle and general prosperity; failures are not extolled, but must be excused as well as possible.

In modern Swazi society it is difficult to draw any sociological distinction between " magic " and " religion " in terms of the activities of the *inyanga* and *umfundisi*. Both distinguish in their own way between good and evil; both are in contact with good spirits and supernatural powers which they direct in social ceremonies for alleged social benefits. The question of universal values is irrelevant: Christianity in Swaziland is embodied in a number of churches, often antagonistic to each other as well as to " pagan practices." The moral unity of the human society may be proclaimed in theory, but is denied in action. The missions, instead of introducting greater co-operation in the nation have accentuated differences, and indirectly bolstered European domination.

[*The Editors would welcome other contributions or correspondence on this subject.*]

[1] *Servite Magazine*, Swaziland, February 1935, page 7.

A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WRITINGS ON CYRENAICA PART II*

By E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

In *African Studies* last year I published a compilation of books dealing with the recent history of Cyrenaica. The compilation was made in Cyrenaica during the war and was mostly limited to books and articles found in that country or in the libraries of Cairo. Since my return to England it has been possible to consult a wider range of literature and a second list of writings on Cyrenaica has been compiled. They are numbered in continuation of the first list.

I have made the selection on the same principle as guided the earlier selection and have included whatever seems to me to be relevant to the history of the development of the Sanusiya order in its relations with the Bedouin tribes of Cyrenaica and the powers of Europe, especially Italy. A very large proportion of the entries deal with the Italian conquest and colonization of Cyrenaica, since it is about these happenings that Italian writers have mostly written.

I have in this second part given the more important books in two categories omitted in the first part: books on the Cyrenaican dialect of Arabic (nos. 164, 191, 198, 229, and 284) and books by early European travellers (nos. 129, 132, 149, 161, 178, 193, 194, 197, 216, 242, 243, 251, 266, 267, 277 and 287). A note on these early explorers is given below. I have also included a few books on the history of modern Italy because some knowledge of metropolitan politics is necessary to an understanding of events in Cyrenaica (nos. 134, 187, 189, 217, 234, 238, and 279). This second part also includes all writings published since the compilation of Part I. These consist of several parts of the *Handbook on Cyrenaica* published by the British Military Administration of Cyrenaica (nos. 127, 133, 159, and 212) and a number of papers written by myself (nos. 166-174).

In order to render this bibliography more useful and to provide a historical perspective I list below in chronological order the chief explorations of Cyrenaica and the chief events in its recent history. I conclude with a numerical index to those writings out of the 290 entries which appear to me to be essential source-books.

The first European travellers to give us accounts of Cyrenaica and its linked cases were Friedrick Hornemann (1798), Agostino Cervelli (1811), Paolo Della Cella (1817), F. W. and H. W. Beechey (1821), Jean Raymond Pacho (1825), Heinrich Barth (1846), Vattier de Bourville (1848), James Hamilton (1852), R. Murdoch Smith and E. A. Porcher (1860), Moritz von Beurmann (1862), Gerhard Rohlfs (1869), Rohlfs and Steeker (1879), Manfredo Camperio (1881), and Giuseppe Haimann (1881). The oases of Kufra were visited in 1879 by Rohlfs and Steeker, in 1896 by the Tunisian Muhammad bin Uthman al-Hashashi (Hachaichi), in 1916 by Laurent Lapierre, in 1921 (with Mrs. Forbes) and 1923 by Hassanein Bey, and in 1923 by Bruneau de Laborie.

The chief events in the history of the Sanusiya order have been: 1843, the foundation of the first Cyrenaican lodge of the order at al-Zawiya al-Baida; 1856, the transfer of the headquarters of the order to Jaghbub oasis; 1895, the transfer of the headquarters to Kufra oasis; 1902, the first conflict with the French at Bir Alali in the Sudan; 1911, the Italian invasion of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania; 1915, the Sanusi campaign against the British; 1917, truce with Italy and England by the *Modus Vivendi* of Acroma; 1923, renewal of the war against the Sanusis by the Fascist government of Italy; 1932, the pacification of Cyrenaica completed; 1940, the Sanusis offer their services to the British government and form battalions in the Allied Forces against Italy.

The most important books of those listed in the bibliography appear to me to be: 1, 2, 3, 9, 13,

*The first part appeared in this journal in September 1945, Vol. 4, No. 3.

16, 19, 23, 31, 36, 48, 49, 50, 57, 59, 62, 65, 100, 104, 107, 169, 184, 198, 237, and 285.

121. Agostini, Enrico De. *Notizie sulla zona di Augila-Gialo*, Bengasi, 1927.
122. Agostini Orsini Di Camerota, Dr. Paolo D'. *L'italia nella politica africana*, Bologna, 1926.
123. Ahmad al-Naib al-Ansari. *Kitab al-Manhal al-Adhab fi Tarikh Tarabulus al-Gharb*, Constantinople, 1899.
124. Ambrosini. *I problemi del mediterraneo*, Roma, 1937.
125. *Annuario delle Colonie Italiane*, Roma, 1934.
126. Arribavene, Valenti-Gonzaga. *Il senusso e la sua influenza nell'africa settentrionale* (Rapporto, Luglio 1906), Roma, N.D.
127. Atiya, Prof. Aziz Suryal. "Cyrenaica: Christian and Mediaeval", *Handbook on Cyrenaica*, Cairo, 1945.
128. Bacci, B. *La guerra libica descritta nelle lettere dei combattenti*, Firenze, 1912.
129. Barth, Heinrich. *Wanderungen durch die Küstenländer des Mittelmeeres, ausgefuhrt in den Jahren* 1846, 1841, *und* 1847, Berlin, 1849.
130. Baschmakoff, A. *La Tripolitane et la Cyrénaique, étude historique et ethnographique*, Paris, 1912.
131. Bassi, Mario. *Il combattimento di Tagrift*, Roma, 1928.
132. Beechey, F. W. and H. W. *Proceedings of the Expedition to explore the Northern Coast of Africa from Tripoly eastward in MDCCCXXI and MDCCCXXII, etc.*, London, 1828.
133. Bell, Capt. K. D. "Kufra", *Handbook on Cyrenaica*, Cairo, 1946.
134. Berkeley, G. F. H. *Italy in the Making*, Cambridge, 1932-40 (3 vols.).
135. Bernet, E. *En Tripolitaine. Voyage à Ghadamès, suivi des Mémoires du Maréchal Ibrahim Pacha, etc.*, Paris, 1912.
136. *Bollettino dell'ufficio storico del comando di stato maggiore.*
137. Bonacci, G. *Gli ultimi giorni di Bengasi turea*, Roma, 1912.
138. Bonacci, G. *Il califfato, l'islam, e la libia*, Roma, 1913.
139. Bonacci, G. *Da Tolmetta a Marsa Susa e da Derna a Sidi Garbaa*, Roma, 1913.
140. Bongiovanni, Gen. L. *Relazione finale del governatorato della Cirenaica* (presentato al governo di Roma il 28 Maggio 1922).
141. Brezzi, G. *Cento giorni di prigionia nell' oasi di Cufra*, Milano, 1930.
142. *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. CXXXVII, 1934.
143. *Campagna di libia*, vols. I-V (pub. by the Uff. stor. de com. del. corpo di stato maggiore).
144. Campbell, Dugald. *Camels through Libya*, London, 1935.
145. Cana, F. R. Art. "Senussi", *Encycl. Brit.*, Cambridge, 1911.
146. Caroselli, Francesco Saverio. *L'affrica nella guerra e nella pace d'Europa*, Milano, 1918.
147. Casoni, G. U. *La guerra italo-turca*, Firenze, 1913.
148. Castellani, È. *Le colonie e la conferenza di Berlino*, Turin, 1885.
149. Cella, P. Della. *Viaggio da Tripoli di Barberia alle frontiere occidentali dell' Egitto*, Citta di Castello, 1912. (First pub. 1819).
150. Charles-Roux, F. *Bonaparte et la Tripolitaine*, Paris, 1929.
151. Checchi, S. *Attraverso la Cirenaica*, Roma, 1912.
152. Collucci. "Il diritto consuetudinario della Cirenaica", *Riv. giurid del medio ed estremo oriente e giustizia coloniale*, 1932.
153. *Come siamo andati in Libia*, Firenze, 1914. (Several contributors).
154. *Consular Reports, American Annual Series.*
155. Coppolani, Xavier. *La Confrérie des Ammaria*, 1894.
156. Cornet. *Au Tchad. Trois ans chez les Senoussists, les Ouaddaïens et les Kirdis*, Paris, 1911.
157. *Corriere di Bengasi.*
158. Corsi, M. "Senusso e il senussismo", *Rass. Contem.*, no. 25, Roma, 1914.

159. Cumming, Brig. D. C. "The modern History of Cyrenaica", *Handbook on Cyrenaica*, Cairo, 1946.

160. R. Decreto Legge, 9 gennaio 1939-XVII, n. 70, "Aggregazione delle quattro provincie libiche al territorio del Regno d' Italia, etc.", Boll. uff. della *Libia*, 1939.

161. Denham, Major, Clapperton, Capt., and Oudney, the late Dr. *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa, in the Years 1822, 1823 and 1824*, London, 1826.

162. Doutté, Edmond. *L'Islam Algerien en l'an* 1900, Alger, 1900.

163. Doutté, Edmond. *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Alger, 1900.

164. Ducati, B. *Grammatica pratica della lingua araba parlata in Tripolitania, etc.*, Bologna, 1913.

165. Enver Pasha. *Um Tripolis*, Munich, 1918.

166. Evans-Pritchard, E. E. *A Note on Zawaya of the Sanusiya Order in Cyrenaica*, B.M.A. Press, Banghazi, 1944.

167. Evans-Pritchard, E. E. "The Sanusi of Cyrenaica", *Africa*, vol. XV, no. 2., 1945.

168. Evans-Pritchard, E. E. "The Distribution of Sanusi Lodges", *Africa*, vol, XV. no. 4, 1945.

169. Evans-Pritchard, E. E. *Biographical Notes on Members of the Sanusi Family* (with genealogical charts in English and Arabic), B.M.A. Press, Banghazi, 1945.

170. Evans-Pritchard, E. E. "Cyrenaica", *The Geographical Journal*, vol. CV, nos. 5, 6. 1945. (Correspondence).

171. Evans-Pritchard, E. E. "A Select Bibliography of Writtings on Cyrenaica", *African Studies*, vol. IV, no. 3, 1945.

172. Evans-Pritchard, E. E. "Italy and the Bedouin of Cyrenaica", *African Affairs*, January, 1946.

173. Evans-Pritchard, E. E. "Arab Status in Cyrenaica under the Italians", *The Sociological Review*, 1946.

174. Evans-Pritchard, E. E. "Italy and the Sanusiya Order in Cyrenaica", *Journal of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1946.

175. Falls, J. C. *Three Years in the Libyan Desert*, London, 1913. (Trans. from *Drei Jahre in der Libyschen Wuste*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1911).

176. Faure-Biguet. *Histoire de l'Afrique septentrionale sous la domination musulmane*, Paris, 1905.

177. Ferri, Silvio. *I testi geografici antichi relativi alla Cirenaica*, Bengasi, 1924.

178. Forbes, Mrs. Rosita. *The Secret of Sahara: Kufara*, London, 1921.

179. *Foreign Office. Egypt* (*Various Papers*), 1913-21.

180 *Foreign Office Handbook No.* 122. *Italian Libya*, London, 1919.

181. Fraccaroli, A. *In Cirenaica con i soldati*, Milano, 1913.

182. Gabelli, Ottone. *La Tripolitania della fine della guerra mondiale all'avvento del Fascismo*, 1939.

183. Gaibi, Agostino. *Manuale di storia politico-militare delle colonie italiane*, Roma, 1928.

184. Gaibi, Agostino. *Storia delle colonie italiane*, Torino, 1934.

185. Gautier, E. F. *L'Islamisation de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris, 1927.

186. Ghisleri, Arcangelo. *La Libya nella storia e nei viaggiatori.*

187. Giolitti, Giovanni. *Memorie della mia vita*, Milano, 1922. (2 vols).

188. *Giornale di Bengasi.*

189. Goad, Harold E. Review of *Italy and Fascismo* (by Luigi Sturzo) in *Jour. of the R. Inst. of Inter. Aff.*, 1927.

190. Goldziher, Dr. Ignaz. *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg, 1925.

191. Griffini, E. *L'arabo parlato della libia, etc.*, Milano, 1903.

192. Gwatkin-Williams, Mrs. *In the Hands of the Senoussi* (compiled from the diary of Capt. R. Gwatkin-Williams, R. N.), London, 1916.

193. Haimann, G. *Cirenaica*, Roma 1882. (Revised ed. 1886).

194. Hamilton, J. *Wanderings in North Africa*, London, 1856.
195. Hartmann. "Aus dem Religionsleben der Libyschen Wüste", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.*
196. Holmboe, Knud. *Desert Encounter*, London, 1936. (Trans. from the Danish ed. pub. in Copenhagen, 1931).
197. Horneman, F. *The Journal of Frederick Horneman's Travels from Cairo to Mourzouk, etc.*, London, 1802.
198. Iannotta, E. *L'arabo parlato in Cirenaica*, Bengasi, 1933.
199. Irace, T. *With the Italians in Tripoli. The authentic History of the Turco-Italian War*, London, 1912.
200. Joly. *Essai sur les Chadouliya (Confrérie musulmane de Boghari)*, Alger, 1907.
201. Kahle, P. "Die Aulad-Ali-Beduinen der Libyschen Wüste", *Islam*, Strassburg, 1913.
202. Kennett, A. *Bedouin Justice*, Cambridge, 1925.
203. King, W. J. Harding. *Mysteries of the Libyan Desert*, London, 1925.
204. *La Frontière occidentale de l'Egypte*, (Royaume d'Egypte, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères), Cairo, 1926.
205. *L'Agricoltura Coloniale.*
206. Lane-Poole, S. *A History of Egypt*, London, 1936.
207. *La Rinascita della Tripolitania*, Milano, 1926. (Many contributors).
208. *L'azione dell'esercito italiano nella guerra italo-turca* 1911-12, (comando del corpo di stato maggiore), Roma, 1913.
209. *Legge fondamentale per la Cirenaica*, Bengasi, 1919.
210. *Legge organica per l'amministrazione della Tripolitania e della Cirenaica.* (Of June 26, 1927). Bengasi, 1931.
211. *Libia (La) negli atti del parlamento e nei provvedimenti del governo*, Milano, 1912-3. (3 vols).
212. Little, O. H. "Geology of Cyrenaica", *Handbook on Cyrenaica*, Cairo, 1945.
213. Lo Bello, Capitano Filippo. "Il primo deceminio dell'occupazione italiana in Cirenaica", *Riv. Colon.*, Anno XX.
214. Lo Bello, Capitano Filippo. "Un nostro problema politico-coloniale, la senusia", *Riv. delle Colon. e d'oriente*, Feb., 1926.
215. *L'Oltremare*, 1928—.
216. Lyon, Capt. G. F. *A Narrative of Travels in Northern Africa in the Years* 1818, 19 and 20, London, 1821.
217. Macartney, M. H. H. and Cremona, P. *Italy's Foreign and Colonial Policy*, Oxford, 1938.
218. MacClure, W. K. *Italy in North Africa*, New York, 1913.
219. Mc Cullagh, F. *Italy's War for a Desert*, London, 1912.
220. Macdonald, D. B. *Development of Muslim Theology and Jurisprudence*, London, 1903.
221. Macmunn and Falls. *Military Operations, Egypt and Palestine* (Official History) London, 1927.
222. Malvezzi, Count A. "Italian Colonies and Colonial Policy", *Journ. of the R. Inst. of Inter. Aff.*, July, 1927.
223. Malvezzi, Count A. *La politica indigena nelle colonie*, Padua, 1933.
224. Marcais, G. *Les Arabes en Berbérie du XI au XIV siècle*, Paris, 1914.
225. Marchetti, Dott. Marco. *Idrologia Cirenaica*, Firenze, 1938.
226. Martino, Giacomo de. *Cirene e Carthagine*, Bologna, 1908.
227. Massey, W. T. *The Desert Campaigns*, London, 1918.
228. Massignon, Louis. "Eléments Arabs et Foyers d' Arabisation. Leur Rôle dans le Monde Musulman Actuel", *Revue du Monde Musulman*, T. 57, 1924.
229. Matera, G. *Dialetto arabo della Cirenaica*, Como, 1914.
230. Mathuisieulx, H. M. de. "La Cyrenaïque" *Tour du Monde*, Paris, 1907.
231. Maugini, A. *Contributo alla conoscenza dei prati e pascoli naturali della Cirenaica settentrionale*, Forli, 1931.

232. Medana, A. *Il vilayet di Tripoli di Barberia nell'anno* 1902-1904, Roma.
233. Mei, A. *Gli abitanti della Cirenaica : studio etnico-antropologico*, Roma, 1914.
234. Megaro, G. *Mussolini in the Making*, London, 1938.
235. Meriano, F. *La questione di Giarabub*, Bologna, 1926.
236. Micacchi, R. " L'instruction publique en Libye de 1912 à 1924 . *Inst. Col. Intern.*, 1926.
237. Mondaini, G. *Manuale di storia e legislazione coloniale del Regno d'Italia*, Roma, 1927. (2 vols).
238. Monroe, Elizabeth. *The Mediterranean in Politics*, Oxford, 1938.
239. Montet, Edourd. *Les Confréries Religieuses de l'Islam Marocain, leur Rôle politique, religieux et social*, Paris, 1902.
240. Moore, Martin. *Fourth Shore*, London, 1940.
241. Mori, A. *L'italia e l'islam in libia*, Firenze, 1912.
242. " Moritz von Beurmann's Reise von Bengasi nach Udschila und von Udschila nach Mursuk " (1862), *Peter. Mitt.*, Gotha, 1863. " Aufenthalt in Mursuk und Reise von Mursuk nach Uau " (1862), *ibidem.*
243. Nachtigal, Gustav. *Sahara und Sudan*, Vols. I and 2, Berlin, 1879-89 ; vol. 3, Leipzig.
244. Neveu, Le Capitaine de. *Khouan*, Paris, 1846.
245. Ney, Napoléon. *Les Confréries musulmanes et leur rôle politique*, Bruxelles, 1891.
246. Nicholson, R. A. *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge, 1921.
247. *Ordinamento organico del personale amministrativo libico*, 1938.
248. *Ordinamento organico del personale giudicante e di segreteria dei tribunali sciaraitici della libia*, 1937.
249. *Organisation politique et administrative des Colonies* (Bib. Col. Inter.), Bruxelles, 1936.
250. Pace, Biagio. " La pacificazione della Cirenaica occidentale ", *Riv. delle Col. It.*, 1932.
251. Pacho, M. J. R. *Relation d'un Voyage dans la Marmarique, la Cyrénaique et les Oasis d'Audjelah et de Maradèh, etc.*, Paris, 1827.
252. Palumbo, A. *La Pace di Nufilia*, Roma, 1920.
253. Pedretti, A. *Una escursione in Cirenaica nel* 1910. *Citta di Castello*, 1913. (First pub. in *Boll. della Soc. Geog. Ital.*, Nov., 1903.
254. Piccioli, A. *La pace di Ouchy*, Roma, 1935.
255. Piccioli A. *La porta magica del Sahara*, Tripoli, N.D.
256. *Pionieri italiani in Libia*, Milano, 1912. (Several contributors).
257. Pisani, V. *Popolare la Libia : perchè e come*, Roma, 1935.
258. Playfair. Bibliography of the Barbary States Part II.
259. Puccioni, Nello. *Antropometria delle genti della Cirenaica*, Firenze, 1934. (2 vols.)
260. Queirolo, E. " La cittadinanza ai libici ", *Riv. Col.*, 1919.
261. Ravagli, Federico. *Sulle soglie del continente nero, Tripoli*, 1931.
262. Rémond, G. *Aux camps turco-arabes*, Paris, 1913.
263. *Repertorio dei nomi di località* (Governo della Cirenaica), Bengasi, 1929.
264. *Risultati scientifici della missione nell'oasi di Giarabub* (R. Soc. Geog. Ital.), Roma, 1928-31.
265. Rodd, F. R. *People of the Veil*, London, 1926.
266. Rohlfs, Gerhard. *Kufra-Reise von Tripolis nach der Oase Kufra*, Leipzig, 1881.
267. Rohlfs, Gerhard. *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien*, Bremen, 1871.
268. Rolls, S. C. *Steel Chariots in the Desert*, London, 1937.
269. Rossi, Ettore. *La cronaca araba tripolina di Ibn Galbun*, Bologna, 1936.
270. Sabetta, U. C. *Il distretto di Derna*, Roma, 1912.
271. Salis, Sertoli. *L'amministrazione locale nelle colonie libiche.*

272. Schmieder, Dr. Oskar, and Wilhelmy, Dr. Herbert. *Die Faschistische Kolonisation in Nordafrika*, Leipzig, 1939.
273. Schweinfurth, G. *Ein Besuch in Tobruk* Berlin, 1883.
274. " Senoussiya (Les) en Tripolitaine " par A. L. C., *Rev. du Monde Musul.* Paris, 1907.
275. Shaw, W. B. Kennedy. " Tripolitania ", *The Geographical Journal*, vol. CVI, 1945. (Correspondence).
276. Slousch, N. " Les Crétois en Cyrénaïque *Rev. du Monde Musul.*, Paris, 1908. (Author's name not given).
277. Smith, Capt. R. Murdoch, and Porcher, Comm. E. A. *History of the recent Discoveries at Cyrene made during an Expedition to the Cyrenaica in* 1860-61, London, 1864.
278. Spada, F. *Dopo la guerra in Cirenaica*, Bologna, 1914.
279. Sprigge, C. J. S. *The Development of Modern Italy*, London, 1943.
280. Stern, Alberto. " Il nuovo ordinamento fondamentale della Tripolitania e della Cirenaica ", *Riv. delle Col. Ital.*, 1934.
281. " Suddivisione politico-ammistrativa del territorio della Libia ", *Boll. Uff. del Gov. della Libia*, Tripoli, 1935.
282. Tajuri, Shaikh 'Abd al-Salam al-Alam al-. *Kitab al-Isharat* (trans. by Antonio Cesàro), Tripoli, 1933.
283. Talbot, Col. the Hon. M. G. *Report on the Negotiations of the Anglo-Italian Mission with Mohammed Idris el Mahdi el Senussi*, (1916). (Not published).
284. Torrisi, M. *Piccolo manuale dell'arabo parlato in Tripolitania e Cirenaica*, Catania, 1912.
285. Valenzi, Fernando. " La Senussia in Cirenaica ed il suo patrimonio ", *Riv. delle Col. It.*, 1932.
286. Vischer, Hanns. *Across the Sahara from Tripoli to Bornu*, London, 1910.
287. Wagner, Hermann. *Schilderung der Reisen und Entdeckungen des Dr. Eduard Vogel in Central Afrika*, Leipzig, 1860.
288. Yver, G. Art. " Awdjila ", *Ency. of Islam*, Leyden, 1913 ; art. " Barka ", *ibidem ;* art. " Djaghbub ", *ibidem ;* art. " Djofra ", *ibidem.*
289. Zanon, F. " Contributo alla conoscenza linguistico-etnografica dell'oasi di Augila *L'Africa Italiana*, 1934.
290. Zoli, Corrado. " La completa conquista e l'occupazione definitiva della Libia ", *Riv. delle Col. Ital.*, 1932.

L'IMPERISSABLE BEAUTE

" On l'a tourmentée pour l'effacer du monde mais elle n'en partira pas".

Par ABEL CHATAIGNIER

Administrateur-Adjoint des Colonies

ARGUMENT

Le conte relate les métamorphoses d'une fille personnifiant la beauté, que persécute une haine jalouse. Dans le monde civilisé, c'est-à-dire soumis à l'organisation et à l'action de l'homme (su-fêno, le monde de la cité) il n'es point pour elle d'asile, en quelque règne qu'ell cherche refuge : animal, végétal ou minéral. Heureusement, l'univers total comprend un autre domain que celui de la civilisation : c'est le vaste monde sauvage, la brousse (ula-fêno).

L'issue vers celui-ci est offerte à la persécutée par un curieux détour. C'est l'aveugle acharnement de l'envieux qui le fournit. Bouchant une fontaine qui redevient un fourré, elle rend à la nature un canton que la civilisation avait conquis. Du même coup, elle ouvre à sa victime la porte de l'évasion.

Dans le monde sauvage règne, sans interfèrence de l'esprit du mal, cette loi qui veut que la beauté soit entourée d'égards. Là tout se laisse aller à la courte joie de vivre, dont la danse de jeunesse est la plus complète expression. Là ne pourra pénétrer que l'homme initié, purifié par l'entraînement, le chasseur respectueux des règles morales, qui ne tue point hors de nécessité et des rites.

Un tel homme possède double droit de cité, au village et dans la brousse. Lui seul peut faire le trait d'union entre la civilisation et la nature. Par lui, l'homme, saisi du regret de la beauté qu'il a chassée, pourra repartir en hâte à sa recherche. Et si son coeur est devenu pur, la beauté créé pour son usage lui reviendra.

Car malgré la première ivresse de la liberté conquise, elle se sentirait bientôt dépaysée hors de la civilisation. Les êtres sauvages le savent bien eux qui connaissent la différence de nature entre habitants des deux mondes. Et par amour de la beauté, eux-mêmes le rendront à l'homme assagi, racheté par ses larmes, libre alors de se réjouir du caractère impérissable de cette beauté qu'il poursuivait, naguère de sa haine, et maintenant de son amour.

TRADUCTION FRANCAISE

Sa mère etait morte, laissant la fillette à sa " petite-mère " la deuxième épouse, et à son père. L'enfant était très belle, la plus belle de la famille. Et quand venaient des étrangers, c'est chez son père qu'ils descendaient. Ils ne s'absentiaent point à la veillée, mais restaient près de la fille, " parce qu'elle est belle " disaient-ils. C'est ce qui ulcéra le coeur de sa petite-mère, que toujours les étrangers viennent séjourner chez eux, et qu'à sa fille à elle ils ne fassent nul cadeau, ne lui tiennent même pas conversation, mais n'en aient que pour cette orpheline. Elle dit au père de tuer la fillette, et lui la tue. Mais où l'on ensevelit son corps, un petit fromager très joli poussa. Et quand passaient des gens, sortis des régions du Fouta et du Labé, ils venaient déposer leurs colas au pied du fromager, et suspendaient des colliers à ses branches, " parce qu'il est beau" disent-ils. La petite-mère en est ulcérée. Il faut brûler ce bois, dit-elle. Son père le brûle. Mais la cendre, elle aussi, vint si belle, qu'on ne pouvait la croire cendre, c'était comme farine de riz. Les voyageurs du Fouta survenant font leur halte à côté," parce que cette cendre est belle " disent-ils. La petite-mère en est- ulcérée. Elle dit : ramassez la cendre et l'allez jeter dans la fontaine. On la ramasse, on va l'y jeter, et la source sortit si belle qu'on eût dit du lait frais. Quand venaient les voyageurs du Fouta et qu'on leur offrait de l'eau " nous n'en voulons point d'autre" disaient-ils, " que celle de la fontaine". Alors on allait en prendre pour leur donner. Et quand ils

tenaient leur veillée, ils allaient s'asseoir près de la fontaine " parce que la source est belle " disaient ils. La petite-mère en fut ulcérée. Elle dit " bouchez la fontaine ". On l'a bouchée. Un fourré poussa dans lequel la fillette se fit biche songho. Et chaque jour s'en va avec les biches dans la brousse. Et là arrivées, elles disent : " Dansons ensemble ". Et les songhos chantent :

Biches danseront, biches en jeune âge
Biches danseront, biches en jeune âge.

Et après les autres venait danser la fillette chantant :

Biches danseront, biches en jeune âge
Je me suis faite fille des hommes svelte et jolie
Mais mon père a détruit ma nature humaine

Je me suis faite jeune fromager svelte et gracieux
Mon père m'a détruit ma nature d'arbre

Je me suis faite beau bois sec sonore
Mon père m'a détruit ma nature de bois

Je me suis faite un peu de cendre éblouissante
Mon père m'a détruit ma nature de cendre

Je me suis faite en la fontaine source pure
Mon père m'a détruit ma nature de source

Je suis venue me refugier parmi les biches
Les jeunes songhos bondissants
Dansez, biches en jeune âge

La nature de biche convient à moi que voici,
De biche songho bondissante
Biches en jeune âge, dansez.

Un jour, un chasseur courut la brousse, il l'a trouvée chantant cette chanson. Il rentre au village, il dit à 'homme : " ta fille est dans la brousse parmi les biches au bord du fleuve ". L'homme s'émeut : " allons voir dès demain " dit-il. Ils partent au matin, à midi paraissent les biches. Elles viennent en chantant :

Biches danseront, biches en jeune âge

Et toutes dansent. Reste la fille qui vient à son tour et chante :

Je me suis faite fille des hommes svelte et jolie
Mais mon père a détruit ma nature humaine

Je me suis faite jeune fromager svelte et gracieux..

L'homme s'élance, veut se jeter parmi les songhos, pour revoir sa fille. Mais nul ne l'aura, disent les biches. Car il a tourmenté l'enfant, l'a tuée, l'a exilée en toutes formes pour l'effacer du monde. Elle ne partira pas. Et si l'homme les touche, elles le tueront. L'homme s'est assis, et pleure. Alors les biches disent : que jamais un être domestique ne pourra devenir un être sauvage qu'il parte donc avec sa fille, mais ne la moleste plus.

TEXTE MALINKE ET TRADUCTION JUXTALINEAIRE

| | | |

sumun *tumó* *luntâqo* *lu* (pl.) *me* *bo* *gallo* *la*
la conversation du soir à l'heure de les étrangers ne jamais sortent la maison de
2 1 2 1

I *s* *i* *tu* *dindiqo* *da* *fe* *ho* *bawo*
ils toujours se laissent la fillette du coté de près disant parce que
3 2 1

a *h a keñi*
elle est belle

wo *le* *diminta* *a* *nândin* *na* *ho* *luntâŋo* *lu*
cela c'est ce qui fit chagrin sa petite mère à disant les étrangers (pl.)
2 1

se *na*
toujours viennent

ha jigi *luo* *hono* *i* *mi* *ate* *diqo* *so*
descendre la maison dans ils ne jamais son à elle enfant gratifient
2 1 1 3 4 6 5 2

fên *na*
rien de
8 7

i *dun* *ni* *a* *me* *sumuŋ*
ils même avec elle (son enfant) ne jamais conversent

ho *fó* *na* *te* *méŋ* *kuŋ* *fa*
elle dit seulement mère fait défaut avec celle qui à père
4 5 1 3 2

t *a* *kuŋ*
fait défaut elle à
2 1

a *ho* *dindiŋo* *bába* *yeŋ* *ho* *ha* *dindino* *fapa*
elle dit de la fillette père au dit de la fillette tuer
3 2 1 2 1

a *bába* *h a* *fapa*
son père l'a tuée

i *h a* *l'a* *jâm* *méŋ* *a* *wo* *fapaliŋo*
ils l'ont ensevelie à l'endroit que d'elle ce morte
2 1

bântindiŋ *keñim* *bota* *no* *nim* *mupo* *lu* *nata*
un petit fromager joli sortit là chaque fois que des gens (pl.) sont venus

ha bo *Futa* *nil* *Labé* *lu* *i* *si* *n*
sortant des du Fouta et du Labé régions ils toujours viennent
2 1

ila *woro* *lu* *tui*
leurs colas porter

bantin *juo* *la* *ha* *honôŋo* *lu* *dêŋ* *a* *la* *ho*
du fromager pied au colliers (pl.) suspendre lui à disant
3 2 1 2 1

bav *a* *ha* *keñi*
parce qu' il est beau

wo *diminta* *dindiqo* *nândin* *na* *ho* *ha*
cela fit chagrin la fillette la petite mère de à disant qu'il faut
3 2 1

bantin *jou* *sege*
du fromager le tronc couper

a *bába* *h a* *sege* *bântiqo* *jata* *a* *wo* *jaliŋo*
son père l' a coupé le fromager sècha de lui cet arbre sec

kêñiñata *tuguq*
devint joli encore

nim *Futabola* *lu* (pl.) *náta* *i* *se* *sagi*
chaque fois que les sortants du Fouta sont venus ils toujours retournent

honôŋo *lu* *dêŋ* *a* *la*
colliers (pl.) suspendre lui à
2 1

ho *bâñtin* *jaro* *ha* *keñi*
disant du fromager le bois sec est joli

wo *diminta* *dindiŋo* *nândin* *na*
cela fit chagrin la fillette la petite mère de à
3 2 1

ho *ha* *bântin* *jaro* *janí* *a* *bába* *h a* *janị*
dit qu'il faut du fromager le bois sec brûler son père l a brûlé

a *wo* *buguto* *wo* *fanây* *keñiñata* *tuguŋ*
de lui cette cendre elle aussi devint belle encore

i *mi* *a* *lôŋ* *ho* *buguti* *mu* *i* *s* *a* *fo*
on jamais-ne le saurait que cendre c'est ils toujours (le) disent

i *ho* *malu* *mungo* *nim* *Futabola* *lu* (pl.) *náta*
tu dirais de riz farine chaque fois que les sortants du Fouta sont venus

i *s* *i* *sumú* *wo* *buguto* *da-fe*
ils toujours se tiennent en conversation cette cendre auprès de
2 1

ho *fake* *buguto* *ka* *keñi* *wo* *diminta*
disant parce que la cendre est belle cela fit chagrin

dindiqo *nândin* *na*
la fillette la petite mère de à
3 2 1

ho	*ha*	*buguto*	*ko*	*ha taq*	*a ke*	*holêŋo*	*hono*
dit	qu'il faut	la cendre	ramasser	aller	la jeter	la fontaine	dan
						2	1

i h a	*ko*	*ha taq*	*a ke*	*holêŋo*	*hono*
ils l' ont	ramassée	sont allés	la jeter	la fontaine	dans
				2	1

wo	*holêŋo*	*keñiñata*	*i*	*s*	*a*	*fo*	*i*	*ho*	*keke*
cette	source	devint belle	on	toujours	(le)	dit	tu	dirais	du - lait - frais

nim	*Futabola*	*lu* (pl.)	*náta*
chaque fois que	les sortants	du Fouta	sont venus

n	*i*	*ha*	*jio*	*lad*	*i*	*ma*
quand	on	a	de l'eau	présenté	eux	à
					2	1

i	*s*	*a*	*fo*	*h*	*íte*	*lu*	*te*	*jio*	*ku*
ils	toujours	(le)	disent	qu'	eux	(pl.)	ne pas	de	l'eau voudront

fo	*holén*	*jio*
sauf	de-la-source	l'eau
	2	1

i	*si*	*taqa*	*holên*	*jio*	*ta*	*ha n à*
on	toujours	va	de la source	l'eau	prendre	venir la

d	*í*	*ma*
donner	eux	à
	2	1

nim	*sumuŋo*	*keta*
chaque fois que	la conversation	de veillée se tenait

i	*s*	*i*	*taqa*	*sigi*	*holên*	*jio*	*da-fe*
ils	toujours	se	rendent	s'asseoir	de la source	l'eau	près de
					3	2	1

ho	*fake*	*holên*	*jio*	*ha*	*keñi*
disant	parce que	de la source	l'eau	est	belle

wo	*diminta*	*dindiŋo*	*nândin*	*na*
cela	fit chagrin	de la fillette	la petite mère	à
		3	2	1

ho	*ha*	*holêŋo*	*kuti*	*i*	*ha*	*holêŋo*	*kuti*
dit	qu'il faut	la fontaine	boucher	ils	ont	la fontaine	bouchée

suto	*bota*	*wo suto*	*hono*	*dindiŋo*	*h í ke*	*sõŋo*	*ti*
un fourré	sortit	ce fourré	dans	la fille	se fit	biche-songho	être
		2	1				

luq	*ó luq*	*a nin*	*sôŋo*	*lu*	*s*	*i taqa*	*wulo*	*to*
(jour)	chaque jour	elle avec	les biches	(pl.)	toujours	s en va	la brousse	dans
							2	1

n *i* *náta* *i* *s* *a* *fo*
quand elles sont arrivées elles toujours (le) chantent

h *ilâŋ* *hâ m* *ba*
disant nous toutes ensemble nous élançons (dansons)
2 1

sôŋo *lu* *s* *a* *fo*
les songhos (pl.) toujours (le) chantent

ho *sôŋ* *s i* *ba* *sôŋ* *hamarí*
disant biches (se) danseront des biches les jeunes adultes

sôŋ *s i ba* *sôŋ* *hamareŋ*
biches danseront des biches les jeunes adultes

n *i* *kurata* *dindiŋo* *si* *na* *h* *a* *b* *i* *bá* *la*
quand ils ont fini la fillette toujours vient disant qu'elle va s élancer

a *s* *a* *fo*
elle toujours (le) chante

sôŋ *s i ba* *sôŋ* *hamariq*
biches danseront biches jeunes

sôŋ *s i ba* *sôŋ* *hamarêq*
biches danseront biches jeunes

n *hâ ŋ* *ke* *moqón dîl* *lêŋhu - lêŋhu*
je me suis faite humain petit svelte et gracieux

m *fa* *hâ* *nna* *moqoya* *tiña* *m* *ma*
mon père a ma nature humaine détruite moi contre
2 1

n *hâŋ* *ke* *bântindîl* *lêŋhu-lêŋhu*
je me suis-faite petit fromager svelte et gracieux

m *fa* *hâ* *nna* *bantinña* *tiña* *m* *ma*
mon pére a ma nature de fromager détruite moi contre
2 1

n *hâ ŋ* *ke* *ñônsondin* *señemun-señemun*
je me suis faite petit arbre sec sonore et gracieux

m *fa* *hâ* *nna* *ñônsoya* *tiña* *m* *ma*
mon père a ma nature d'arbre sec détruite moi contre
2 1

n hâ ŋ ke *bugutindin* *ñasenum* *ti*
je me suis faite petite cendre éblouissante devenir

m *fa* *ha* *nna* *bugutiya* *tina* *m* *ma*
mon père a ma nature de cendre détruite moi contre
1

n	*hâ*	*ŋ*	*ke*	*holén-ji*		*ñasenun*	*ti*
je	me		suis faite	eau de	source	jolie	devenir

m	*fa*	*ha*	*nna*	*holénña*		*tiña*	*m*	*ma*
mon	père	a	ma	nature de	source	détruite	moi	contre
							2	1

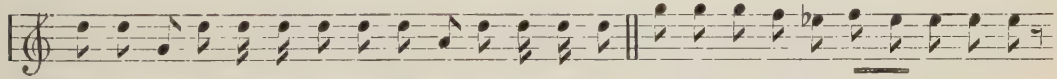
n	*natâ*	*m*	*bula*	*sôŋo*	*to*
je	suis venue	me	laisser	les biches	dans

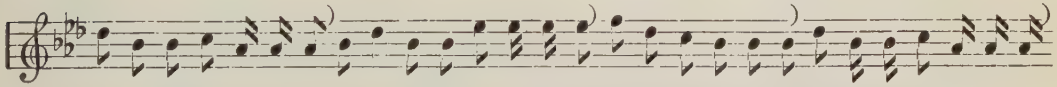
sôq	*hamariŋ*	*girio*
biches	des jeunes	o bondissement
3	2	1

i	*lagiri*	*sôŋ*	*hamariŋ*
vous-mêmes	faites bondir	biches	jeunes adultes
2	1		

sônña		*bêntâ*	*nte*	*ma*
la nature de	biche	a convenu	moi-que-voici	à
			2	1

sôŋ	*hamariŋ*	*girio*	*i*	*la*	*giri*	*sôŋ*	*hamariq*
des biches	jeunes	o bondissement	vous	faites	bondir	biches	jeunes
2		1	4	3	5		





lun	*do*	*duso*	*be*	*bo*	*la*	*wulo*	*to*
jour	certain	un chasseur	est	sortir	à	brousse	en
2	1			2	1	4	3

a	*h*	*a*	*tara*	*wo*	*sigo-la*	*la*	*a*	*dunta*	*su*
il	à	elle	trouvée	cela	chanter	à	il	est entré	au village
				3	2	1			

a	*ho*	*ke*	*yeq*	*h*	*i*	*doqi*	*be*	*wulo*	*to*
il	dit	l'homme	à	dit	ta	fille	est	la brousse	dans
		2	1					2	1

h	*a*	*be*	*sôŋo*	*lu*	*to*	*bá*	*da*	*la*
dit	elle	est	les biches	(pl).	parmi	du fleuve	bord	au
			2		1	5	4	3

a	*h*	*a*	*yeq*	*a*	*hô*	*nŋ*	*ha*	*taq*	*a*	*je*	*siniŋ*
il	dit	lui	à	il	dit	(nous)	allons		le	voir	demain
		2	1								

i	*taqata*	*saqó*	*ma*
ils	sont partis	matin	au
		2	1

tilo	*to*	*sôŋo*	*lu*	*nata*	*wo*	*tumo*
midi	à	les biches	(pl.)	sont venues	à ce	moment
2	1					

dusuke	*niŋ*	*ke*	*be*	*sigilin*	*suto*	*to*
le chasseur	et	l'homme	sont	accroupis	un fourré	dans
					2	1

h	*i*	*ña*	*bêŋ*	*i*	*nato*	*ma*
à	leurs	yeux	fixer	elles	venant	sur
				2		1

i	*náta*	*sôŋo*	*lu*	*ho*	*sôŋ*	*s i ba*	*sôŋ*	*hamariŋ*
elles	sont venues	les biches	(pl.)	disent	biches	danseront	biches	jeunes

i	*be*	*h i ba*	*a*	*tuta*	*dindiqo*	*ma*
elles	toutes	dansent	il	est resté	la fillette	(pour)

a	*fanân*	*náta*	*ho*	*sôŋ*	*s i ba*	*sôŋ*	*hamariq*
elle	aussi	est venue	disant	biches	danseront	biches	jeunes

n	*hâ n*	*ke*	*ke*	*h i ba*	*ha n e*	*bula*
je	me suis	faite	l'homme	s'est élancé	à venir	se lancer

sôŋo	*lu*	*to*	*h*	*a*	*b a*	*diqò*	*muta*	*la*
les biches	(pl.)	dans	disant	qu	il va	sa fille	saisir	
2		1						

sôŋo	*lu*	*ho*	*h a*	*me*	*ta*	*ho*	*bawo*
les biches	(pl.)	disent	qu elle	ne	pourra	être prise disant	parce que

a	*ha*	*diqo*	*jaquya*	*le*	*h a*	*faqa*
qu'il	a	l'enfant	tourmenté	c'est	a	elle tuée
	3		2	1		

h	*a*	*ke*	*kuo*	*bé*	*ti*	*ho*	*f*	*a*	*me*		*je*
l	a	fait	choses	toutes	devenir	disant	jusqu'à	ce	qu	elle ne pourra (plu.)	être vue

	dunia		*hono*	*h*	*a*	*me*	*taqa*
le	monde		dans	elles	disent qu'	elle	ne partira pas
	2		1				

ho		*n*	*a*	*h*	*i*	*maqala*	*h*	*i*	*fanân*	*nu*	*s*	*a*	*faqa*
disent	que	s	il		les	touche	qu	elles	aussi	(pl.)	vont	le	tuer

ke	*sigita*	*ha*	*humbo*	*sôŋo*	*lu*	*h*	*a*	*yeq*
l'homme	s'est assis	à	pleurer	les	biches (pl.)	disent	lui	à
							2	1

ho	*su-fêm*		*me*	*ke*	*wula-fên*		*ti*	*no*
que	de village	être	jamais ne	être fait	de brousse	être	devenir	pourra
	2	1		2	4	3	5	1

h	*a*	*ni*	*a*	*diqo*	*ha-taqa*	*ho*	*bari*
que	lui	et	sa	fille	partent	disent	mais

a	*hann*	*a*	*jaquya*	*kuta*
il	que ne pas	la	tourmente	de nouveau
2	1 3			

COMMENTAIRE

Le début des malheurs est de perdre sa mère. Ainsi dans la plupart des contes. Reste le père, mais il abdique de sa tendresse pour plaire à une autre épouse : la " petite-mère," *nândiŋ*. C'est le titre que l'enfant malinké donne à toutes les épouses du père autre que sa mère propre. Dans le cas, on eût pu le traduire par " marâtre ", mais je ne l'ai pas fait, car *nândiŋ* ne comporte pas en soi la nuance péjorative qui s'attache à l'usage actuel du vocable français. Tant par sa forme en diminutif que par l'aménité des moeurs familiales le mot *nândiŋ* est, dans la langue courante, le plus souvent empreint d'affection. Dans les contes, dont le point de départ est souvent le malheur initial de l'orphelin, la nândiŋ est fréquemment comme ici, une marâtre des plus classiques.

L'enfant était belle. Le seul accent prolongé en aigu sur la finale du mot Keni, "belle", indique qu'elle l'est au superlatif, mieux, qu'elle l'est au degré suprême, et que ce sont les aventures de la beauté personnifiée qu'on va suivre.

Le premier effet de la beauté est d'exercer une attraction sur l'entourage. On la note sur l'entourage le plus désintéressé : les étrangers passant. Ceux-ci descendent chez elle. " Chez son père " dit le conte, car le malinké ne dit pas " chez moi " comme l'européen, il ne dit pas " chez nous " comme le peul (galle amen) ou le ouolof (sunnu ker), il dit toujours pour désigner sa maison " chez mon père ". De même " le champ de mon père " désigne, non le champ personnel du chef de famille, mais le champ commun. " Les vaches de mon père " désigne les bêtes du troupeau qui appartiennent, non spécialement au père, mais à la communauté, dont le patriarche est la personnification.

La veillée est " l'heure (*tumo*) " où l'on s' assemble pour " converser (*sumuŋ*)". C'est un des plus vifs plaisirs des villages noirs, et pour s'en priver, il faut vraiment une impérieuse raison. Au pays malinké, " la conversation " a lieu sur la place du village, sous les grands arbres, où des estrades à claire-voie sont disposées pour recevoir les parleurs. On s'y assied, s'y étend ou s'y perche en une pittoresque diversité d'attitudes. C'est là que le soir les étrangers établissent vraiment le contact avec le village, là qu'ils racontent et documentent leur gazette parlée. Ce n'était pas

un mince hommage au charme de la fille que de voir les voyageurs rester à la maison, " se laissant" (*i s i tu*) à côté d'elle. Rien n'indique qu'on lui fît la cour au sens érotique du terme. Mais, au pays noir, on " fait cour " d'honneur au mérite, de quelque ordre qu'il soit. Un habile chasseur, un trouvère inspiré, un champion, un grand cultivateur ont toujours leur cour. Ainsi celle de la fille : la suite du conte montrera le même empressement autour de formes moins charnelles de la beauté.

Et voilà le second effet que la beauté suscite : l'envie. Celui-là se produit chez les méchants. La petite-mère " a douleur " (*dimint a la*). Ses griefs indiquent qu'on comblait la jolie fille de cadeaux ; là encore rien n'indique qu'il s'agit pour les donateurs d'avancer une brigue amoureuse. C'est un trait de la psychologie du Noir, que ce besoin de gratifier l'objet de son attachement. Il est vrai qu'en son esprit tout cadeau lie magiquement le recevant au donateur. Mais " n'est pas toujours par intérêt matériel qu'il donne " : le geste lui procure une intense satisfaction sentimentale. Ainsi tout à l'heure les voyageurs orneront de colliers un bois sec. Passe encore pour intéressée une offrande à l'âme d'un arbre vivant ; mais l'ornementation d'un bois sec n'est vraiment que besoin d'exprimer un hommage à la beauté pure.

" Une qui n'a ni mère ni père ". La mère est citée d'abord, comme toujours en malinké, le père vient pour l'enfant en second lieu. Mais celle-ci a encore son père, c'est lui-même qui tout á l'heure la tuera. Pourquoi la marâtre l'oublie-t-elle ? C'est d'abord qu'elle est entraînée dans l'expression toute faite : *na ta kum fa t a kuŋ* " mère lui manque père lui manque ", couramment employée pour dire " orphelin ". Mais cet entraînement même rend sensible combien le père est devenu étranger à la fille. C'est au point que dans la maison même on oublie ce qui relie cette fille au chef. Et l'attitude de celui-ci tout à l'heure ne surprendra plus.

" Une qui n'a ni mère ni père ". L'expression, dans la bouche de la marâtre, est entachée de mépris. Je crains bien que ce ne soit, en malinké, sa résonnance primordiale. C'est secondairement que l'expression suggère la pitié, car elle éveille d'abord l'idée d'une quantité négligeable. Sans mère ni père, l'être humain n'est qu'un membre détaché du tronc, un " individu " non incorporé, un rebut sans utilité qui n'appelle pas la considération. Il est faux de croire que le quémandeur déclarant " tu es mon père et ma mère" fait d'abord acte de flatterie : c'est avant tout un acte d'humilité. " Hors toi je n'ai pas d'attache, d'efficacité, d'utilité ". A l'inverse, c'est un sentiment d'orgueil d'abord, de reconnaissance ensuite, qui exprime l'adage malinké " Fa ha di " " combien il est agréable d'avoir un père ! "

Et celle-ci, son père la tue. Sur le forfait, le conte ne donne nul commentaire. Aucune de ces accentuations si expressives par quoi le récitant suspend son récit, et qui sont comme l'écho résumé d'un choeur d'exclamations que son art seul réfréne. " Il la tue ". La communauté familiale a disposé d'un membre, le chef acquiesce et exécute. Je ne crois pas qu'on exprimerait avec la même placidité le meurtre du père par un enfant.

Viennent des voyageurs des régions du Fouta et du Labé. L'Expression malinké : *ha bo Futa nil Labe lu*, offre un exemple symptomatique de pluriel. Dans la langue du Dantila, on entend par " Fouta " sans déterminatif le Fouta-Djallon, dont le Labé es tun royaume, comprenant lui-même pluisieurs provinces. Le pluriel " *lu* " spécifie que les voyageurs venaient de ces divers royaumes et diverses provinces. Le nom mandingue n'est ni singulier ni pluriel, il est collectif, il désigne l'ensemble d'une race, la catégorie d'un être. La particule " lu " qui marque ce que nous appelons par approximation un pluriel est en réalité un partitif. Elle indique qu'il s'agit de plusieurs exemplaires de la race, de plusieurs fragments de l'être dénommé. Ainsi dira-t-on " *i nata jio ti* " " ils apportèrent de l'eau ; et plus précisément " *i nata jioluti* " : Ils apportèrent de l'eau en divers récipients. De là vient que le pluriel est inutile quand le nom est suivi d'un déterminatif numéral " *mopo nani* " " quatre hommes " ou plus exactement " quatre exemplaires d'humanité "—inutile aussi avec la particule qui indique la totalité " *mono bé* " " tous les hommes " ou plutôt

" l'humanité entière ".—J'ai cru observer en Haute-Gambie que les écoliers, habitués à l'emploi mathématique de notre pluriel, utilisent beaucoup plus que les autres la particule " *lu* ". C'est eux qui diront souvent " *mopo lu be* ", et ils n'y manqueront pas s'ils parlent à un Européen. Peut-être, par l'usage du Français, notre notion du nom désignant un individu supplantera-t-elle la vieille conception mandingue du nom exprimant un ensemble.

Les voyageurs déposaient leurs colas. Ce n'est pas une offrande, c'est le dépôt des charges qu'ils portaient sur la tête. Il s'agit de dioulas mandingues transportant la cola au Sénégal. Ils ont une pacotille accessoire : colliers et ceintures de perles. L'arbre leur plaît et ils l'ornent. Ces parures ne sont pas rares sur les arbres de Haute-Gambie. Il s'agit à l'ordinaire d'arbres recevant un culte, mais ce ne paraît pas être ici le cas.

Ce n'est pas l'ombre non plus qui les attire. Le fromager est trop jeune (bântindiŋ). Plus tard c'est un arbre sec. Mais ils viennent quand même et s'arrêtent " pour la beauté ". Peut-être le malinké a-t-il parmi les noirs, une aptitude spéciale à jouir du spectacle désintéressé du beau. De la simple présence d'une belle chose, il tire un plaisir assez vif pour l'aller chercher au prix de quelque effort, pour s'y attarder au prix de quelque inconvénient. Dans les villages malinké la baignade quotidienne se prend assez loin du village chaque fois qu'on a le temps de chercher un beau cadre. Et l'on s'y attarde le plus possible. Plusieurs jours après, on en parlera avec une expression de ravissement : " tel soir la rivière était délicieuse : *a ha di* ". Le sens de la nature est très vif chez ces populations. Je ne pense pas qu'on puisse faire la même observation chez leurs voisins peuls ou ouolofs. Aussi me hasardé-je à dire que le malinké possède un sens esthétique plus raffiné, et qu'il en tire un bien plus intense plaisir.

Il peut sembler curieux de voir la mutation d'arbre en bois sec considérée comme un changement de nature, au même titre que le passage d'homme à arbre, et plus tard de bois à cendre. Mais ceci illustre bien la conclusion qu'on pouvait déjà tirer du fait qu'en les langues nègres, les mots sont tout différents pour désigner le bois vert et le bois sec. Il y a changement de règne, l'un participant de l'être vivant, l'autre du minéral. Le cycle complet des règnes est parcouru par la persécutée de ce conte. On les distingue très nettement. Le principe de la distinction, pour être différend du nôtre, n'en est pas moins pertinent. On sépare du plus parfait au plus imparfait :

-le règne organique et mobile (l'animal, ici l'homme)
-le règne organique immobile (la plante, ici l'arbre)
-le règne inorganique solide (le minéral, ici le bois sec)
-le règne inorganique pulvérulent (ici la cendre)
-le règne inorganique liquide (ici l'eau)

Je dis qu'on va du parfait à l'imparfait. Dans le conte, la dégradation est très nette. De même la pharmacopée indigène préfère de beaucoup les poudres aux solutions—Le cycle s'achèvant sur les liquides dans le monde civilisé, on le reprend par son sommet dans le monde sauvage, sous la forme de l'animal le plus gracieux.

" Quand venaient les voyageurs, et qu'on leur présentait de l'eau. . . " Tel est en effet le premier geste d'accueil à l'étranger. Le second est de lui tenir conversation. Le troisième de l'inviter à se restaurer. Le dernier de lui offrir natte et case. Le conte ne se refère pas aux troisième et dernier rite, mais par contre fréquemment au second : la conversation, qui n'est pas moins importante dans le cérémonial.

Bientôt, grâce à la marâtre, qui fait de la fontaine un fourré, la victime trouve l'issue sur le monde sauvage, et d'emblée saisit la forme la mieux adaptée à sa véritable nature de fille gracieuse : celle de la jeune biche. C'est que son être profond n'a pas subi de diminution pour avoir émigré dans le règne inférieurs. La hiérarchie des formes est une chose, celle des êtres une autre. C'est ainsi qu'en face d'un animal, d'un arbre, d'un minéral on a souvent l'impression que l'homme, conscient de son pouvoir d'action, l'est beaucoup moins d'une supériorité intrinséque. Souvent il traite ces êtres avec un fraternel respect l'animal frère de clan, l'arbre qu'on salue au passage, l'or ou le mineral de fer, par exemple, sont traités avec une affectueuse vénération.

Le monde sauvage découvert montre qu'il

possède aussi son organisation, ses moeurs. En gros, celles-ci reproduisent, mais avec plus d'élan, plus de pureté, les moeurs des civilisés. La jeunesse danse. Comme elle l'eût fait dans son village, l'héroïne chante ses aventures au milieu du choeur de ses compagnes. Elle se félicite enfin de son sort : cette nature me convient, pleine d'harmonie et de rythme. Mais les bêtes savent bien la convenance imparfaite. C'est un pis-aller, que la sécurité et l'euphorie de la danse embellissent dès l'abord.

Quand les biches menacent, le chasseur ne tire point. On ne tue que selon les rites, après sacrifice agréé par la puissance qui règne sur les deux mondes, et sait établir entre eux un viable équilibre : alors seulement le génie de l'espèce chassée consent à livrer quelqu'un de ses " enfants ". Le chasseur sait cela. L'homme qui l'accompagne au contraire, perd son contrôle. En brousse, le compagnon du chasseur est son humble suivant ; il ne risque un pas, un geste, sans indication du meneur de jeu. C'est ce qu'illustre parfaitement la danse de chasse qu'on exécute au Dantila comme au Niokholo. A côté, mais en retrait du danseur principal, un second fait l'écho de ses gestes, de ses attitudes de ses mouvements. Mais en plus incertain, en moins efficace. Reçoit-il du protagoniste un signe d'encouragement, qu'il affirme, amplifie, et bientôt exagère tout, et le meneur de jeu doit le calmer d'un signe en arrière. Sur quoi il rentre brusquement dans son humilité première, exprimant par sa mimique le repentir : l'homme du conte qui s'élance, va contre toutes les règles. Le chasseur n'intervient pas pour le défendre. Le combat contre les biches serait d'issue certaine, elles tueraient l'homme malgré tous les fusils, car on n'est pas ici dans les règles. . . de la chasse. Il faut que l'homme manifeste sa contribution avant que la beauté, heureusement impérissable, lui soit rendue par la brousse, son dernier refuge.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Bantu : Modern Grammatical, Phonetical and Lexicographical Studies since 1860. By CLEMENT M. DOKE. 1945. London : *Lund, Humphries*, 119 pp.

This is a successful attempt to give in a small space some account of the content of the books and articles which have, since 1860, contributed to our knowledge of Bantu languages. It is, as one can at once see, a colossal task, but the author has managed it within the compass of a little over a hundred closely packed pages.

For the purpose of easy and quick reference, he has classified the Bantu languages into seven zones, a classification which the author insists can only be regarded as tentative, and which we will quote to give some idea of the extent of the field covered :—

(1) North-western (Duala, Fang, etc.).
(2) Northern (Ganda, Rundi, etc.).
(3) Congo (Kongo, Bangi, etc.).
(4) Central (Luba, Bemba, etc.).
(5) Eastern (Shambala, Chaga, etc.), with which may be associated North-eastern (Swahili), and East-Central (Nyanja).
(6) South-Eastern (Nguni, Sotho, etc.) with which may be associated South-central (Shona).
(7) Western (Mbundu, Herero, etc.), with which may be associated West-central (Lwena).

Each zone is then treated separately, giving its geographical position and extent, the main linguistic characteristics of the languages composing the zone, and a list of the most important of the languages themselves.

The author then gives details, in respect of each of the languages named, of the publications which have appeared dealing with various aspects of these languages, and in order to give the reader some idea of the thoroughness with which this is done, we quote his references to Duala :—

Duala is spoken on the Cameroons mainland opposite the Island of Fernando Pô. Since the outstanding work of Saker in this language, and that of Merrick in its cognate Isubu in the fifties of last century, little was done on Duala grammar until 1892 when Th. Christaller published his *Handbuch der Dualasprache*, which Meinhof considers a very considerable advance upon Saker's grammar. The first 68 pages are devoted to grammatical notes, followed by a text of folk-lore and some pages of phrases, while pages 91-214 comprise a *Wörterbuch*, Duala-Deutsch and Deutsch-Duala. Seidel also has some praise for Christaller's *Handbuch*, though he says that it is not without a number of mistakes and misconceptions, citing his lack of understanding of the *relativpartikel*. A. Seidel himself published, in the same year, his *Leitfaden zur Erlernung der Duala-Sprache in Kamerun*, a very slight grammatical treatise followed by vocabularies. In 1904 he published, in the series of language manuals *Methode Gaspey-Otto-Sauer*, *Die Duala-Sprache in Kamerun*. This comprises some 36 pages of grammatical notes, followed by about 80 pages of a systematic word-list with short phrases. For the scientific study of Duala however, we turn to the work of C. Meinhof. Chapter VII of his *Lautlehre der Bantusprachen* published in 1899 (second edition 1910) contains a clear scientific exposition of the phonology of Duala, bringing it into line with his Ur-Bantu Studies. In 1912 Meinhof produced *Die Sprache der Duala in Kamerun*, Volume IV of Reimer's *Deutsche Kolonialsprachen*, a series of little language handbooks with exercises and vocabulary. There is nothing special to note regarding the grammatical work which is of the slightest in this little book. An important contribution to our knowledge of Duala came with the production in 1914 of E. Dinkelacker's *Wörterbuch der Duala-Sprache*. This is a carefully prepared vocabulary, Duala-German and German-Duala, in which all the tones of the entries have been marked. Seidel had given some slight attention to tone in his later work, but here tone-marking is used consistently. The whole problem of tone in Duala

is discussed at length and in a masterly way by H. J. Melzian in his article "Die Frage der Mitteltone im Duala" in the *M.S.O.S.*, Vol XXXIII (pp. 159-212) in 1930. P. H. Nekes had previously, in 1911, contributed a short article entitled "Die Musikalischen Töne in der Duala-sprache" to *Ant* (Vol. VI, pp. 911-919). In 1910 the missionary Bufe contributed to the *Z.f.K.S.* (Vol. I, pp. 25-36) a lexical comparison of Duala with four neighbouring dialects, entitled *Die Dualasprache in ihrem Verhältnis zu den Dialekten des Nordgebiets der Station Bombe.* In 1928 E. A. L. Gaskin published a little *Outline Duala Grammar.* The most scholarly treatment of Duala grammar appeared in 1939. This was Johannes Ittmann's *Grammatik des Duala*, in the preparation of which he acknowledged the assistance of Carl Meinhof. In this important work the first 34 pages are devoted to a detailed study of the phonology including tone analysis. Both this and the grammatical part which follows are built upon the scheme of Professor Meinhof for Ur-Bantu, and the whole is rich in examples. Especially valuable are Ittmann's two large sections on Word-formation (36 pages) and Syntax (72 pages), in the latter of which the laws of sentence structure in Duala are minutely expounded and fully illustrated. L. Reallon, Administrateur des Colonies, produced *Premiers éléments de Langage Douala.*

When it is stated that well over 200 languages and dialects are dealt with in this manner, it will be realized what a wealth of reference material has been compressed into the small space of the book.

The sections dealing with Swahili and Nguni are particularly well done, and are a good deal more extensive even than Duala, and the student who wishes to know what has been written on any of the languages listed will find an unerring guide to the sources of information.

Professor Doke has made a very valuable contribution to the study of Bantu in this remarkable survey and all Bantu linguists will be under a debt of gratitude to him for a most painstaking piece of work.

The full index at the end rounds off a book to which many will turn for help in the days to come, and they will not be disappointed.

D. MCK. MALCOLM.
Natal University College,
Durban.

Manuel de Tshiluba (Kasayi, Congo Belge): Par A. BURSSENS. 1946. Antwerp: *De Sikkel.* 94 pp., 65.f.

This is an elementary study of the morphology of the language, designed especially for students of the *Ecole Coloniale du Ministère des Colonies* at Brussels. The author, editor of *Kongo-Overzee*, is a well-known authority on this language, and has already put us in his debt with his tonal study of the language—*Tonologische Schets van het Tshiluba.* Consequently we find in this new grammar a careful exposition of tonal morphology. It is a great pity, however, that the correct word-division (the conjunctive) has not been followed in this work: it would have corrected much incorrect nomenclature and description of the functions of formatives; for instance, the possessive formative (based on *a*) would have been joined to the following substantives (cf. pp. 34, 35) as it is the pronominal stem (cf. pp. 45, 46) and should be on page 47.

Although the mid-forward and mid-back vowels are described as *ɛ* and *ɔ*, it would have been better to use the symbols *e* and *o*, since the latter are not used distinctively. Regarding the significance of the locative prefixes (which should be joined up to the following stem), possibly further investigation will reveal that *mu-* also signifies "encircling" and that *ku-* and *fa-* are akin in significance except that the former implies greater distance away than the latter (cf. p. 24). In par. 51 is not *munda* (here joined up, note) derived from a noun *nda* (class 5) with root *-la?* Note also the joining up of the prefix in par. 52, *munkatʃi*, *fankatʃi*, etc.

In par. 59 it is the verbs *kubifa*, *kukulufa*, etc. that are derived from the adjectival stems *-bi*, *-kulu*, etc. by suffixing the verb-forming suffix *-fa.* These are "denominative verbs"; the adjectives are radical, they are not "*adjectifs verbaux*".

Further investigation might prove the conjunctive formative *nɛ* (par. 67 etc.) to be basically *na-* in Luba. It appears so in par. 138 where not under the influence of an initial vowel, e.g. *na.ni na.bɔ*, etc. In other Bantu languages the possessive stems of first and second persons plural are *-itu* and *-inu*, and of second person singular *-ube*. The action of these initial vowels would cause "substitution of *e*" to take place (see *Bantu Linguistic Terminology*, p. 205). Similar substitution takes place in Luba before substantives because of the latent or "submerged" initial vowel of the noun prefix. More information, however, is necessary than we have in this publication, to determine this definitely. In par. 146 *ŋani* is a noun of Class 1a, similar to *ta.tu*, etc. It would be interesting to know whether the sentence *udi nɛbaŋani?* could read *udi nabaŋani*. In the same paragraph I question the correctness of *n-ŋani* for the copulatve form; should this not read *ŋ-ŋani*, with homorganic nasal?

It seems unnecessary to use the term "subjective" for the well recognised "subjunctive mood".

These are some criticisms but there are many good things in the book and much valuable information. The use of both objectival suffix and objectival prefix (as described in par. 249) is very interesting. The *phrases monorèmes*, existing in other Bantu languages, too, I have not seen recorded before. They are really interjectives. In Lamba, for instance, we have, *Ele, imfula!* My, what a rain! or My, the rain is on us!

C. M. DOKE.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

T. D. RAMSAY is a Native Commissioner in the Transvaal.

DR. HILDA KUPER is an anthropologist who has done field work in Swaziland.

DR. M. D. W. JEFFREYS is senior lecturer in social anthropology in the University of the Witwatersrand.

DR. E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD lectures in anthropology at Cambridge. He served in North Africa in the war.